HINDU POLITY

(State and Government in Ancient India)

[Based on work of Dr. Altekar, Dr. Jayaswal & Dr. Bhandarkar]

By

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

There is a good deal of literature on 'Hindu Polity' or 'Ancient ıdian Polity', but is lies scattered at several places. What is needed day, for the students of 'Hindu Polity' or 'Ancient Indian Polity' the collection of the material at one place, so that they may study at the time of their examination. This book is an attempt in that irection. No doubt, there are monumental works like 'State and overnment in Ancient India' by *Dr. A. S. Altekar*, *'Hindu Polity'*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, 'Collection of the Manindra Chandra Lectures' elivered by *Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar* on some aspects of ancient Hindu olity and the students to study all these books and also to get them ady at hand. In the present book an attempt has been made to llect all material contained in those monumental works and present in 'Question-Answer' form. It is this form that the students like have because they have to answer the questions at their examinations.

While presenting the standard material every attempt has en made to draw from the original sources. But it has been the oject of the author to present the standard material in a simple nguage and style easy to follow. All this has been done in order help the students of 'Ancient India' or 'Hindu Polity.' The authors d the publishers are grateful to the authors and the publishers of e books from which help has been taken. Every attempt has been ade to present the material in an up-to-date form.

The English rendering of the Hindi book, "Hindu Rajya astra", has been done by Shri B. C. Saxena.

Suggestions for further improvement of the book shall be atefully acknowledged.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTERS		PAGES
I.	Name, History and Sources of the Hindu Science of Polity ...	1
II.	Origin of the State ...	11
III.	Types of the State in Ancient India ...	19
IV.	Concept of the State in Hindu Polity ...	22
V.	Nature and the Aims of the State in Ancient India ...	29
VI.	Functions of the state ...	35
VII.	Kingship in Ancient India ...	41
VIII.	Characteristics of Hindu Monarchy ...	59
IX.	Raj Dharma ...	61
X.	Republics in Ancient India ...	63
XI.	Characteristics of Republics in Ancient India ...	66
XII.	Rise and Fall of Republics ...	69
XIII.	Republics According to Panini ...	71
XIV.	Republics in Buddhist Literature ...	75
XV.	Republics as Depicted in Arthasastra ...	78
XVI.	Republics and Their Administration ...	81
XVII.	Council of Ministers ...	83
XVIII.	Sabha and Samiti ...	92
XIX.	Paura and Janapada ...	95
XX.	Village Administration in Ancient India ...	101
XXI.	Dharma and Jurisprudence in Ancient India ...	105
XXII.	Fiscal Administration in Ancient India or Budgeting of Income and Expenditure ...	109
XXIII.	Taxation in Ancient India ...	115
XXIV.	Inter-State Relations in Ancient India ...	119
XXV.	Espionage in Ancient India ...	124
XXVI.	Socialism in Ancient India ...	129
XXVII.	Mauryan Administration ...	132

CHAPTERS — PAGES

XXVIII. Gupta Administration ... 150
XXIX. Administration of Harsha ... 159
XXX. Manu - The Father of Ancient Indian Polity ... 165
XXXI. Sukracharya ... 172
XXXII. Kautilya—The Main Architect of Ancient Indian Polity. ... 182
XXXIII. Kautilya and Machiavelli—A Comparative Study 189
XXXIV. Ashoka and Nehru ... 193
XXXV. Secretariat and Departments ... 197
XXXVI. Different Divisions of Administration—Provincial, Divisional, District and Town Administration ... 202
XXXVII. Franchise and Citizenship ... 206
XXXVIII. Public Opinion in Ancient India ... 207
XXXIX. Economics in Government and Theory about Ownership of Land ... 210
XL. Estimate of Ancient Indian Polity ... 212
XLI. Slavery in Ancient India
Or
Slave System in Ancient India ... 215
XLII. Community Life in Ancient India ... 221
XLIII. Organisations of the Business Men and the Working Men in Ancient India
Or
Guilds and Trade Unions in Ancient India ... 225
XLIV. Kamandakam ... 230
XLV. Administration in Vedic Age ... 235

AGES
150
159
165
172
182
189
193
197
202
206
207
210
212
215
221
225
230
235

CHAPTER I

NAME, HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE HINDU SCIENCE OF POLITY

Q. 1. What do you understand by the science of "Hindu Polity"? Explain.

Or

Q. 2. What was the concept of politics in ancient India (Public Service Commission)?

Ans. **The name of the science of Hindu Polity**—In ancient India 'polity' or "Rajadharma" as it used to be called was in fact name of the sum total of the rules and regulations that occupied the working of the State. Some of the western scholars have erroneously refused to accept Hindu Polity as a separate and a distinct science. They have laid down that Hindu science of polity was in fact a part of Hindu philosophy or Hindu religion. Even in the most ancient times we find the existence of Hindu science of polity as a separate identity.

Indian scholars and thinkers like Manu, Parasara, Vrahaspatya etc. have laid down certain codes of conduct for the States as well as monarchs. According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, the study of Hindu science of polity dates back to 17th century B. C. The same view has been expressed by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

The confusion in the mind of the western scholars seems to have been created on account of the names given to Hindu science of polity. It has been called "Rajadharma", "Arthashastra", "Dandaniti", "Neetshastra". All these names have been given on account of the concept of the Hindu science of polity or the forces that govern the conduct of the monarchs. In the following lines we shall try to justify briefly the names given to Hindu science of polity.

Since this science deals with the duties of the king it was called Rajadharma or science of the State. It was also called 'Rajadharma'. Since in those days monarchy was the normal form of the Government, it was natural for every science of the State to deal with the conduct of the king or the monarchs.

Dandaniti—Even Manu believed that the basic sanction behind the State was the force and so Hindu polity dealt with rules about use of the physical force or physical punishment. It laid down the rules and regulations about inflicting punishment to guilty. In fact in those days it was thought that this was the only way of preservation of the society. Dandaniti was also a means of bringing about adjustment between the individual and the State. Dandaniti involve providing protection to the weak against the oppressor.

was — force

Arthashastra—This name was given by Kautilya who himself wrote a book with this caption. This book deals with rules and regulations that guide the working of the State.

Neetshastra—This branch of knowledge deals with the rules and regulations that help in proper guidance and protection of the individual as well as society. It is also the science of good conduct or ethics. The famous thinker Bhartrihari used it for the first time. Viruspat also wrote a book dealing with the science of good conduct which is known as Neetshastra. Since 15th century A. D. this name became more popular. Today normally the word used for it is polity or

good

Dharma

Rajshastra. It deals with concept of the State as well as other aspects having bearing on the State and its activities.

History of the Hindu seience of polity or development of the Hindu science of polity—Hindu science of polity grew along with Vedic literature. In fact literature of India only lies in Vedas. It is, therefore, natural for one to turn for the origin and development of Hindu science of polity to Vedic literature.

Hindu science of polity before 500 B. C.—Before 500 B. C. we do not find Hindu science of polity as an independent science or a branch of knowledge. In fact by that time knowledge had not developed very much.

Hindu polity since 8th century—Hindu polity started developing along with other branches of knowledge from about 18th century. During this period passages dealing with Hindu polity lie dispersed in Rigveda and Atharvaveda. We also find these passages in "Brahamanic" literature and such other branches of knowledge.

Hindu polity since 8th century—In Vedic literature we find that after 8th century begins the age of specialisation. This age saw the growth and development of Hindu polity of science as an independent subject. It is believed that around 7th century B. C. some literature of Hindu polity was written but is not available at the present moment.

Hindu polity after 8th century B. C.—After 8th century B. C. Hindu polity developed in several forms and ways. It is developing even today. It can be ascertained only by having a look at the sources of Hindu polity.

Sources of Hindu Polity—In ancient India, Hindu Polity was called by different names. Firstly, it was called 'Rajdharma' and, later on, it came to be known as 'Danda Niti'. Further, it came to be known as Niti Shastra and earlier to that 'Raj Shastra'. How did this Science develop can only be ascertained with the help of the source books literature of ancient India. These are called the sources of Hindu Polity.

Vedic Literature—The original source of all branches of knowledge prevalent in India is to be traced back to the Vedic literature. This is true about Hindu Science of Polity as well. In Vedas there are different Sutras that depict the contemporary political condition. These Sutras have relationship with the monarch and institutions connected with monarchy. Development of Hindu Science of Polity upto 18th century B. C. can be seen in the Vedic literature.

After 8th century B. C. 'Vyakaran' (grammar), Nirukta (logic) and Jyotish Shastra (astronomy) developed as independent branches of knowledge. People started writing independent books on these subjects. It was during this very period that Rajya Shastra or Hindu Polity developed along with the Dharma Shastra or Theology. In fact, in ancient India, Theology or religion and polity went together. This is what Professor Dunning has said in the following lines :—

> "The oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today".[1]

Inter-mingling of Theology and Polity—In ancient India, we find a very close inter-mingling of Polity and Theology. Western scholars of the oriental philosophy, like Professor Maxmuller and Professor Bloomfied have said this very thing. According to Professor Maxmuller, "the Indian never knew the feeling of nationality, and his heart never trembled in the expectation of national applause......The only sphere where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to create, and to worship, was the sphere of religion and philosophy ; and nowhere have religious and metaphysical ideas struck root so deep in the mind of nation as in India. The Hindus were a nation of philosophers......Taken as a whole, the history supplies no second instance where the new life of the soul has so completely absorbed all the practical faculties of a whole people, and, in fact, almost destroyed those qualities by which a nation gains its place in history."[2]

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[1] "A History of Political Theories Ancient and Medieval"—Professor Dunning.

> "From the beginning of India's history, religious institutions controlled the character and the development of its people to an extent unknown elsewhere......There is no provision in such a scheme for the interest of the State and the development of the race. Unintentionally, but none the less effectively, they are left out of account, leaving a corresponding glind in India's national character."

Mahabharat—After Vedic literature, the most detailed exposition of the Science of Polity is to be found in Mahabharat and Arthshastra of Kautilya. In the Shantiperva of Mahabharat there is discussion about Rajdharma of Polity. At that place duties of the king and the government have been enunciated. This throws ample light on the development of Hindu Science of Polity. In the 'Shantiperva', we also find mention of different names of the authors of Hindu Science of Polity. It is there that we find the names of 'Vishalaksha', 'Indra', 'Brahaspati', 'Manu', 'Shukra', 'Bharadwaj', 'Gaurishira', 'Vamdeva', 'Vasulom', 'Kamandak', etc. Apart from these names, we also find the mention of some other names such as 'Kardam', 'Prarodha', 'Yogacharya' etc.

In 'Mahabharat' we also find mention of certain shlokas about 'Niti Shastra' and in the discussion there is also reference to the views of other ancient writers of Hindu Science of Polity.

The material of 'Mahabharat' is based on anecdotes, yet it is very important. It cannot, therefore, be rejected as imaginary and baseless. In 'Mahabharat' it is said that 'Brahma' wrote about a lac of shlokas in order to expose the intricacies of the Dand Niti. Then 'Vishalaksha' brought out an abridged form of it. Later on, Indra, Brahaspati and Shukra abridged it still further. Thus, it can be seen that 'Mahabharat is the most important source book of Hindu Science of Polity.

Kautilya's Arthashastra—After Mahabahrat, it is Kautilya's Arthashastra that is the most important source book of Hindu Polity. It is also one of the most important book on Hindu science of polity. Its unique quality is that it has not been influenced by the principles laid down in 'Dharmashastra'. Kautilya has himself put down in the preface of it that it is the compilation of the works of his predecessors, with a view to bring about the welfare of the people. This preface clearly indicates that before Kautilya other thinkers had also written something or the other about the art of government. Writers and thinkers enumerated in Kautilya's Arthashastra are Bharadwaj, Vishalalaksha, Parashar, Pishun, Katyayan, Kinjak, etc.

Kautilya has also talked about five important schools of political science. It clearly indicates that at the time of Kautilya, different schools of thought about Hindu Science of Polity had developed.

Thus, we find that Kautilya's Arthashastra throws ample light on the development of the Hindu science of polity. This book occupies the same place in the development of the Hindu science of polity that is occupied by Panini and Ashtadhyayi in the development of grammar. According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, "The most detailed work on Arthashastra that has survived to our time is that of Kautilya. Let us glance at its table of contents to find out how this science intended to handle the two parts which form subject-matter of Arthashastra. We have only to pass before our mind's eye the titles of the various chapters of Kautilya's works to determine under which section any particular chapter has to be classed."

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[2] "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature"—Professor Maxmuller.

Subject-matter of Kautilya's Arthashastra—Kautilya has dealt with different topics and chapters concerning the Hindu science of polity in his book Arthashastra. His main aim was to guide the kings and the rulers in the art of government. He has, therefore enumerated the duties and the jobs of the king and his helpers and subordinates. In Kautilya's Arthashastra we find description about the following :—

1. Preservation of what has been acquired.
2. King and his family, some of the heirarchy of the officials and some of even civil law.

In this chapter we find the description about the following :—

(*i*) How a king should control his senses and what duties should he perform at different hours of the day.

(*ii*) How the family apportionment should be constructed and how the king should protect himself against any attempt at life in the seraglio.

(*iii*) We have also description about the way the king should watch the princes because they are like crabs inclined to devour their begetters.

(*iv*) In Arthashastra, we also find description about the care and circumspenction a king should observe in selecting his councillors and priests.

(*v*) Then there is description about the titles and functions of different officials and the advice to the king how he can take the maximum work out of them.

In Kautilya's Arthashastra, there is also description of the following :—

1. Police regulations and administration of criminal law.
2. Details about proper and effective administration.
3. Means of getting rid of unreliable ministers, traitors and state enemies in a clandestine manner. Arthashastra, according to Prof. Dr. R. Bhandarkar, deals with several aspects of Hindu science of polity as given below :—

> "In fact, the first five adhikaranas of Kautilya's Arthashastra concern themselves with the preservation of the country that has been acquired. But from the sixth adhikarana onwards the work deals with the other subject matter of the science, namely, the acquisition of the new territory. Thus the sixth and the seventh adhikaranas treat not only of the seven prakrits or constituents of a state but also of the mandalas of friendly and hostile neighbours, and the sixth methods of foreign policy relating to peace, war, neutrality, mobilisation, alliance and double policy. Then follow two adhikaranas which are devoted to military matters, the recruiting and organisation of armies, and so forth. Then there are at least two adhikaranas which teach the different methods of secretly conquering or getting rid of an enemy in the hostile country. But whether we concentrate our attention on the acquisition of the new territory, or on the preservation of what has already been acquired, this much is certain that a king cannot possibly do without spies. Whether he is warring with his hostile neighbours or maintaining peace in his own kingdom, he must have his spies employed against enemies within or outside the State. The different classes of spies have been specified, and the methods

> of extorting work from them described. One can hardly go through the work of Kautilya without receiving the impression that in his time the espionage system had been developed almost to a perfection."[3]

Kautilya's Arthashastra is more practical than theoretical. In this book there is very little of theoretical discourse but a lot of practical advice. This is what Prof. Altekar has said :—

> "The Arthashastra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration or of the political science. It is mainly concerned with the practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions, both in peace and war, with an exclusiveness not seen in any latter work, with the possible exception of the Shukra Niti".[4]

Arthashastra as a part of Danda Niti—Arthashastra is, in fact, a part of a bigger science called 'Danda Niti'. It deals with only two of the four constituents of 'Danda Niti'. In Danda Niti there is also description about—(*a*) augmentation of what has been preserved ; and (*b*) distribution amongst the deserving of what has been so augmented.

Importance of Arthashastra as a book on Hindu Science of Polity—There cannot be two opinions about the importance of this book as an important treatise on Hindu science of polity. It contains comprehensive knowledge about science of administration According to Dr. Beni Prasad, "As a scheme of administrative organization, the Arthashastra is unsurpassed in Hindu literature. It is complete in its perspective, detailed in its regulations, thorough in its treatment......... It is a statement of Hindu administrative theory, it leaves hardly anything to be desired......... In the Arthashastra everything is elaborately planned, carefully thought out. It is thus only in fundamentals and in broad outlines of administrative structure which no theoretician could have produced out of his fancy. Kautilya can be relied on for the practical working of the institutions."

Date of Kautilya—There has been a lot of debate about the date of Kautilya and his Arthashastra. Some scholars are of the view that Kautilya's Arthashastra made Chandra Gupta Maurya an emperor. The others held the view that it was produced in the third century A. D. Famous historians like Prof. Smith, Prof. Fleet and Prof. K. P. Jayaswal are of the view that it was produced sometimes in the Mauryan period while Keith and Bhandarkar are of the view that it is a work of the much later date. Some foreign authors have also added to the confusion about the date of Kautilya's Arthashastra. Some of them have gone to the extent of saying that there was no author by the name of Kautilya. It is a fictitious name only. This is what has been said by Ostotine. He has tried to show contradiction between Megasthanese and Kautilya and thereby support the view that Kautilya is the fictious name Prof. Bhandarkar, on the basis of the statements of Prof. Winternitz, has tried to rebute the arguments that greater credence should be placed on the statement of Megasthanese Some of the Western thinkers have also said that Arthashastra is not a work of statesmen but that of a Pandit. This argument has also been challenged by Prof Bhandarkar. He has put forward the view that it was written by the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Mauryan empire On the basis of the style of the book and the description given in it, Prof. Bhandarkar has established that it was written by the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta

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[3] D. R. Bhandarkar 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity'.
—The Mahindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925.

[4] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

Maurya in the Mauryan times. The following extract from Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar strengthens this point further :—

> "What is really noteworthy in this connection is that if we set aside for the moment the first and the last chapters of the book, the full significance of which we will perceive later on, the whole of the remainder, which forms really the subject-matter of the Arthashastra and embodies the views of Kautilya, is found set-forth in the style of the Dharma Sutra and must, therefore, be assigned to a period ranging between the seventh and the second century B. C. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from concluding that the work must have been composed by Kautilya, Prime Minister of the Mauryan emperor, Chandra Gupta."

Kautilya has, therefore, contributed a lot to the development of the Hindu science of polity. His treatise Arthashastra is a landmark in this direction. It is a scientific composition of the view on different aspects of administration.

Manu and Yajyavalakya—After Kautilya, for a pretty long time, people did not indulge in bringing out treatises on Hindu science of polity. Two reasons are assigned for this gap ; firstly, Kautilya's Arthashastra was a complete work, that thinkers and writers did not find themselves competent enough to surpass it. But, according to Prof. Altekar, in the Smritis of Manu, Vishnu and Yajyavalakya, there is some description of the duties of the king and his other jobs and so there was no need to have a detailed treatise. This was all to be seen in the period near-about 200 B. C. Since these books were quite handy and gave some description of the requisite material, there was no need to have a detailed treatise.

Dearth of activity in the realm of political thought—No doubt, Smiritis have dealt with the administrative problems in a general manner and there was every room for new books on science of polity, had there been intense activity in the realm of political thought. But such an activity was lacking. Very little political theories were put forward. In fact, the writers of the time were semi-religious and semi-moral in outlook and so new books were not forthcoming. The following extract from Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' amply depicts this situation in the following words :—

> "The Smriti works referred to above deal with the administrative problems in a gereral way. Their treatment would have been found inadequate and new books would have come into the field, had there been intense activity in the realm of the political thought. But there was no such activity. The general form of the works of the political science was determined by the Arthashastra and a few other manuals of similar nature. New political theories were not adumbrated in later centuries. The semi-religious and semi-moral outlook of the writers of the time was responsible for this. Our writers, for instance concede the principle that the king is the servant of the people and there is no sin in killing a tyrant, A good many theories and books could have come in the field, if the problem of rigicide had been viewed purely from the secular point of view."

Sway of the political works of Kautilya—Since the time of Kautilya, a lot of changes took place in the field of political activity: Changes were made in the administrative machinery in the time of Guptas and Harsha. The machinery now came to be quite different from that of the Mauryans. Foreign invasions also took place and they also brought about some changes in the administrative set-up. But all this did not have an influence on the productivity of the political literature. It is said that it was on account of the 'sway' which the classical works of Kautilya continued to have over the public mind and the absence of any noteworthy development in the sphere of political thought or government machinery.'

Other manuals of science of political administration—Apart from Kautilya's Arthasastra, certain manuals were composed in the first millenium of the Christian era and afterwards. These manuals do not have much of originality in them. These manuals were mostly produced in the South India. Given below is a brief description of other works on Hindu Science of Polity.

Kamandak's Niti Shastra—'Kamandak's 'Niti Shastra' which was, according to Prof. Altekar, composed in the Gupta age, *i. e.* near about 500 A. D. is nothing but a summary of the works of Kautilya. In this book there is advice given to princes and statesmen. Later on, it became quite popular. It does not, however, mean that Kamandaka's Niti Shastra superseded Kautilya's Arthasastra. In this book there is no mention about the administrative machinery. In this book we do not find any description about the republics, by this time they had ceased to exist and so there was no need for their description.

Prof. Jayaswal thinks that it was written by a minister of Chandra Gupta II. This is, in fact, not correct. It is an orginal work which has drawn a lot from Kautilya's Arthasastra. Kamandaka has himself acknowledged this debt. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "The great fascination which Kautilya has over his successors is well illustrated by Kamandak's Niti Saar, composed probably in the Gupta age (500 A. D.). This book is nothing but metrical summary of the work of Kautilya. Obviously it is anonymous writer felt that the best service he could render to the students and politics would be to summarize this standardized work in the popular Anushtub Meter so that it could be easily memorized by the students."[5]

Nitvakyamirta—This was written by a Jain author Some Deva Suri (1960 A. D.). This book was also written near about the 10th century. It does not have any special feature. It was 'a colourless summary of earlier political thought'. It contains passages which are citations from Kautilya's book and that Malli Nath, who lived in the 14th century, also does the same.

According to Prof. K. P. Jayaswal, "The Niti Vakyamrita in the well-known little book written for the education of young princes in the 10th century of the Christian era. It is a mixture of ethics and politics, in short, Sutras or Aphorisms."[6]

Prof. Jayaswal, while talking about these, further says :—"Now it is important to note that Some Deva, who lived about 200 years before Laxmidhar Bhatta, does not compose a Digest but an original book to which he gives the authority of this own name. Yet in the opinion of the commentator, Soma Deva's Niti Vakyamrita was a real Digest. Some Deva lived at a time when tradition of original writing had not ceased ; the commentator lived at a time when the Hindu mind had ceased to venture orginality and when it had to fall back upon authorities. The change was complete within two or three hundred years after Soma Deva."[7]

'Shukra Niti'—It is an important work, although its date is uncertain. This book also does indulge too much in theoretical discussions. It gives a detailed and comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery. It is no doubt an important book about ancient Indian Polity.

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[5] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India.'

[6] Prof K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity.'

[7] K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

Description about monarchy.—The administrative machinery to which this book has referred is essentially monarchical. By that time republics has vanished.

Welfare State—In Shukra Niti state has been described as an organisation for the welfare of the people. According to this book, state did not have a negative purpose only. It also aimed at the welfare of the people at large.

Detailed discussions about judicial system and financial system—This book gives a detailed information about the judicial administration, seating arrangement in the Royal Courts, portfolios of different ministers, army administration and its organisation, financial administration, etc.

Date of Shukra Niti—Different opinions have been expressed about the date of this book. Some scholars think that it was written somewhere near about 1200 to 1600 A. D. This book seems to have originally written sometimes between the 11th and 12th century A. D. No doubt it was re-touched upto the 14th century. This date is based on the reference contained in the book. Prof. Altekar, therefore, supports this view :—

> "Widely divergent views are held about the date of the Sukraniti. G. Oppert placed it even in the pre-Christian period ; Dr. U. N. Ghosal thinks that the work written between 1200 and 1600 A. D. and the view of R. L. Mitra was similar. The fact is that the work is a composite one and was being retouched down to the 14th century ; but its greater part has to be ascribed to the 11th or the 12th century A. D."[8].

Whatever may be the date of the work, it cannot be denied that it contains principles having quite ancient complexion.

Barhaspatya Arthasastra—It is a small and an unimportant work that was produced quite late.

It is a scatchy description of administrative machinery.

DEATH OF ORIGINALITY IN THE FIELD OF HINDU SCIENCE OF POLITY FROM 1000 A. D. TO 1700 A.D.

This was the period when originality was not to be found in any branch of knowledge. It did affect the science of polity as well. Even during this period certain 'compediums' were written giving a comprehensive protection of Dharma and its different branches ; Rajniti and politics also formed a section of most of these works.

Rajniti Ratnakar (1325 A. D.)—It was written by Chandesvara. It is an important book on Hindu science of polity. In this book we find reference to the views of different authors on the subject. It is, in fact, a Digest of political science and is said to be best known work of this kind.

Manasollas—It was again a digest of political science. It was written by King Somesvara of Chalukya dynasty. It cannot be said to be a very good book on the subject. The book is more religious in outlook than a scholarly work. There is more of display of knowledge about other subjects than the administration of the state. The following lines from Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' give a fine appraisal of this book :—

> "The book is on the whole quite disappointing as a treatise on political science and shows that the manual-writers of this period had hardly any

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[8] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India,

genuine interest in the science of politics; they were mainly occupied with the task of describing the hobbies, luxuries and pastimes of the king. The political science in the real sense of the term had ceased to be cultivated."

Other Works—Apart from the works enumerated above, certain other works on political science were also put forward in the post 12th century. Rajniti Kalpataru of Laxmidhar (1125 A. D.), Rajniti Kennda of Devana Bhatta (1300 A. D.), Niti Mayukha of Neelkantha (1625 A. D.), Rajniti Praksha of Mittra Misra (1650 A. D.) are some such other books. In these works we find more of the description of the hobbies and luxuries of the king than the actual work of the administration. These works are more of a collection of the quotations from earlier writers. They do not have any originality in them. At certain places we find references to qualities of the king, the qualifications of the ministers, duties of the treasury, chamberlain, royal physician etc But there is nothing noteworthy about them. There is also no discussion about the foreign policy.

Other original sources—There are number of books in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrat that give an idea about the science of polity. Hymns in Rigveda as Atharva Veda, passages in Shatapatha, Aitraiya, Taittiriya, Brahmans etc give valuable information to the students of the political science. 'Dharma Sutras' also give an idea about the duties of the kings and administrators. The only drawback with these books is that they are more religious in outlook than academic works. 'Puranas' also give some information about the traditions of Hindu Science of Polity. Literary works like Raghuvansha, Malavikagnimitra, Pancha Tantra, Hitopadesha, Kadambari, Dashkumarcharita, Rajatarangini etc. also give some description about it.

In Jataks of Pali there are important passages that throw importance of Hindu science of polity. The same is true about the Prakrita work 'Acharanjasutra.'

Stones and copper inscriptions—Stones and copper inscriptions found at different places provide important information about the Hindu science of ancient days. They are important sources of information to the student of political science. Prof Altekar has given very good appreciation of their importance in this regard :—

> "Stone and copper inscriptions of ancient India are an extremely important source of information to the student of the political science, though unfortunately they have not yet been adequately utilised by the previous writers on the subject. Being written by the court poets, they sometimes give an idealistic picture, but a discerning student can well differentiate between the courtly praise and prosaic facts. To a very great extent the inscriptions represent the actual state of affairs in the government machinery of the different administrations and enable us to ascertain facts and aspects sometimes altogether neglected in the works on Nitisastra. They are very useful in acquiring a correct picture of the territorial divisions and the official heirarchy of the different administrations. They give us a valuable insight into the taxation prevailing under different dynasties, when the enumerate the taxes from which the donees were exempted. They give us a graphic idea of the inter-state relations, as also of the relation between the suzerain and his feudatories. They often enunciate interesting maxims about the aims and ideals of government and the duties of kings and responsibilities of ministers. The readers of the following pages can easily visualise the important part they play in enabling us to get a realistic picture of ancient Indian administration."[9]

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[9] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

Accounts of historians—Accounts of historians also provide valuable information about the politics of those days. This is specially true about Greek historians and the description of Megasthanese came to India during Mauryan age and what he has written gives a good description of the Mauryan administration. The following para from Prof. Altekar's "State and Government in Ancient Inda" clarifies this point further :—

> "The accounts of Greek historians, especially relating to the invasion of Alexander the Great, are very valuable for getting a glimpse into city states and republics. Megasthanese' Indica, though fragmentary, is of very great value to the students of the Mauryan administration."[10]

New Numismatics or the Science of the Coins—It is also a valuable source about the condition of politics in ancient India. The following lines from Altekar bear it out further :—

> "Numismatics or the science of coins is also not without some value to the students of polity. The coin legends often disclose the existence of a number of city states, not otherwise known to us. The existence of the republican constitutions of the Sibis, the Malavas, the Arjunayanas, the Kunidas, the Yaudhreyas and the Lichchhavis is proved or confirmed by coin legends."[11]

From the description given above, we come to the conclusion that the source of ancient Indian polity are scattered at different places. We get an idea about them from the Vedic literature, the Sanskrit and Prakrat literature, coins, inscriptions of stones etc. Writing about ancient Indian polity has started since 1650 B. C. This process continued even during the medieval times. We find that some of the authors even gave books on Hindu polity when India was governed by Mughals. One such person was Ram Chandra Pan Amatya, a minister of Shiva Ji. This was written in Marathi.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Hindu Science of Polity was, in fact, a name of the sum total of rules and regulations governing the working of the state. It was known as Raja Dharma.

2. Raja Dharma has also been termed as 'Danda Niti', Arthasastra, Niti Sastra etc.

3. Hindu Science of Polity grew along with Vedic literature.

4. It was a lot of difference before 500 B. C.

5. Then between 500 B. C. and 8th century A. D. it was some more development.

6. After 8th century A. D , it grew further.

7. Vedic literature essentially forms the main source of Hindu Science of Polity.

8. In Hindu Science of Polity there is a lot of inter-mingling of Theology and Polity.

9. Kautilya's arthasastra is the most important work of Hindu Science of Polity. It deals with different aspects of the working of the state.

10. Arthasastra as a book on Hindu Science of Polity, occupies a very important place.

11. It was written by the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta during Mauryan times.

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[10] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

[11] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

12. After Kautilya's arthasastra, works of Manu and Yajavalakya occupy an important place.

13. After Kautilya, for a pretty long time there was dearth of good works on Hindu Science of Polity.

14. Kamandaka's Niti Sastra, Nitivakyamrita of Soma Deva, Sukra Niti, Brahaspate's Arthasastra etc. are some other works of Hindu Science of Polity.

15. From 1000 A. D. to 1700 A. D. there was dearth of original works in the field of Hindu Science of Polity.

16. Apart from these sources, Jatakas, stones and copper inscriptions, accounts of historians, Numismatics also provide sources of Science of Polity.

17. Books on Hindu Science of Polity were written even in the days of Muslim rulers and Maratha rulers. These books lay down certain principles about government and the working of the states.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Q. Discuss the various theories regarding the origin of the State as enunciated in the Hindu Science of Polity ?

Or

Q. Discuss the theory of social contract as envisaged in the Mahabharat and other authoritative works of ancient India and compare it with the social contract theories of the West ?

Ans. Concept of the State in ancient India—In ancient Indian literature and Hindu literature, there are different concepts of the State, enunciated at different places. If we collect all these concepts together, we can clearly lay down the theory about the origin of the State, as enunciated in Hindu Science of Polity. In Hindu Science of Polity, the State has been treated as synonymous of monarchy. The concept of the origin of the State is nothing but the concept of the origin of the monarchy. First such thoughts are available in the Arthashastra of Kautilya. In fact, what is to be found in Arthashastra is sum total and gist of what has been written about Hindu Science of Polity before that great genius.

History about the concept of the origin of the State—For the first time, we find the mention about the origin of the State in the Vedic literature and Brahmanic literature. In Vedic literature, it has been said that Indra was the sovereign. All the gods, laid by Brahaspati, were accepted as their monarch. The same thing is to be found in Aitreya Brahman, may be in different language. All these ancient books talk about the origin of the monarchy, which has been treated as synonymous for the State. In all these books the monarch has been treated as God. What is needed today is the clear-cut enunciation of different theories about the origin of the State.

Different theories about the origin of the State—As already stated, we find that in different old books, different theories have been propounded about the origin of the State. In some of these books, like Mahabharat and Digghanikaya, it has been laid down that there was all peace and harmony before the origin of the State. On the other hand, in Brahmanic literature, it has been said that there was a constant state of war between the gods and the devils, as a result of which the State was born. In other books the State has been described as the creation of the God. All these thoughts, in other words, boil down to the theories like 'divine origin theory', social contract, etc. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to describe various theories about the origin of the State.

Divine-Origin Theory—In most of the literature dealing with Hindu Science of Polity, the State has been described as an institution of the divine origin. It has also been said in these books that the monarch is the representative of God, and, therefore, he should be treated and worshipped like God. According to Manu God created the monarch or the State in order to preserve His creation and to keep peace in it. In the Vedic literature, five great elements have been denied ; namely (*i*) Indra (rain), (*ii*) Varun (sea), (*iii*) Agni (fire), (*iv*) Surya (sun), etc. It has also been put down there that the monarch was composed of all these divine powers and elements and so he preserved the respect of God. Manu has laid stress on this theory at several places

Puranas have upheld this very theory. In Pauranic literature it has been clearly stated that monarch is the sum total of gods. Kautilya, in his famous works "Arthashastra" has stressed this point further. He has gone to the extent of saying that no God is superior to the king. That is why, according to Kautilya, there is an arrangement for punishment at the hands of the divine power for those who flouted the will of the king. This is what Professor A. S. Altekar has said in the following lines :—

> "The account in the Mahabharat show that the State was regarded as a divine institution ; King's ring to govern us partly due to his divine creation and partly due to the agreement of the subjects to be governed by him in order to terminate the anarchy."

In this context we find that the theory of the divine origin of the State was propounded and accepted in Europe as well as in the countries of the Middle East. In fact, Christianity as well as Islam regard king as the shadow of God.

Comparison between the Indian doctrine of divine origin of the State and the Western doctrine of the divine origin of the State—We have already seen that in Europe as well as in Middle East countries, State regarded as the creation of the God. It was due to influence of Christianity as well as Islam. The same theory has been propounded by the ancient Indian thinkers. Given below is an extract from Professor D. R. Bhandarker's 'Some Aspects of Hindu Polity' that reflects thoughts of Manu :—

> "Although he (Manu) ordains that king is not creation of supreme God but a great deity himself, he tells us in the same breath that for the sake of the king, he created his own son, namely Chastisement (Dand), the protector of all people, that is the law (Dharma) itself, but that he who inflicts it must discern well, otherwise that chastisement itself, if unjustly inflicted, would strike down the king together with his relatives, castles and territories.".

If we compare these lines with the following quotation from the speech of James I in the Parliament in 1609, we find a great deal of similarity :—

> "Kings are justly called gods ; for that they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth : For if you are the attributes of gods,

you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create, or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life, or send death, to judge all, and to be judged only, accuntable to none. To raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: They make and unmake their subjects, and in all cases, and yet accountable to none, but to God only."

Buddhist concept of divine orgin of the State—In Buddhism there is no place for God. Even then in Buddhist literature monarch or the king which, in other words, is nothing but the State, is said to have originated in a miraculous manner, which was nothing but a divine origin. This is what has been put forward in the following lines :—

> "Buddhists did not believe in God and so Brahmadev as the creator of the first king and code does naturally figure in it. But we are told that in the dim and the distant past, there was golden age, when men who had ethereal and refulgent bodies, lived in virtue and happiness. Somehow there was a fall from this ideal stage ; there arose anarchy and chaos and people wondered how to put an end to it. Eventually there arose on the scene a person named Mahajanasammata (lit.) one acceptable to the great community, who was born a sexually."

The history of the origin of the State through war—In Hindu Science of Polity, a theory has been propounded to the effect that the institution of State came into being as a result of war. It was Aitreya Brahman who first mentioned this theory. According to this theory, a war between the gods and the demons continued for a pretty long time and, ultimately, demons succeeded in defeating the gods. As a result of this defeat, the gods came to the conclusion that they were defeated because they did not have a monarch or a king. They, therefore, decided to have a monarch or a king. According to this theory, the following things have come to light :—

1. An institution of the State or the monarch was created in order to meet the requirements of the war.

2. The gods adopted the system of having a monarch or a god from the demons or daityas.

3. The monarch was first appointed by election. This goes to prove that in ancient Indian system of the government, there was the element of democracy or election.

Theory of social contract—The theory of social contract about the origin of the state is essentially thought to be of the West. According to this theory, it is believed that the institution of the State came into being as a result of contract between various groups of the society. Some of the protagonists of this theory thought that in the beginning, there was the golden age in the society. By and by corruption set in and so people realized the need of having the institution of the State. Then there were others who thought that the primitive society or the original state of society was full of conflicts and wars and, in order to do away with these conflicts, people came to the conclusion that they should have the institution of the State.

What we find in the theory of the origin of the State through war is nothing but a form of the social contract. It can very safely be made out of the words of Aitreya Brahman.

Social contract and Mahabharat—In Shantiparva of Mahabharat, there is mention of a contract that brought about the origin of the State. The following lines from A. S. Altekar's "State and Government in Ancient India" depict the situation pretty well :—

> "......In the Shantiparvan (Chapter 67) we have a slightly divergent account of the origin of the State, which seems to have referred to a unsuccessful contract at one stage. People were tired of the law of the jungle which prevailed for a long time, and entered into a mutual contract with persons guilty of unsocial acts like misappropriation and adultery could be expelled from society. We are expressly told that in order to inspire mutual confidence, they entered into an universal social contract to guarantee the agreement. We are, however, told that the people still continue to be unhappy, probably because there was no king or government to enforce the contract. They then approached the Creator with a request to appoint a king, who on the one hand, should be worth the reverence of the community and on the other, should be able to protect the people. The Creator straight-away appointed Manu as the king."

Buddhist and social contract theory about the origin of the State—In Buddhism also, we find that the institution of the State, which was in no way different from monarchy, came into being as a result of the agreement between the people of the society. In the Buddhist literature, it has also been assumed that in the distant past, there was a golden age when men who had ethereal and refulgent bodies, lived in virtues and happiness. Later on, there arose anarchy and chaos and people wanted to put an end to it. People, therefore, elected a person named Mahajanasammata as their king.

Jainism and social contract theory—Jinasena, a Jain author of the nineteenth century, has also put down that originally in the distant past this earth was a paradise or a Bhogbhumi. Later on, there appeared chaos. In order to put an end to this chaos, people agreed to have a king

Kautilya and the theory of social contract—Kautilya has also talked about the social contract in regard to the origin of the State. He has mentioned that in order to counteract the law of the jungle, people themselves elected Manu as the king and agreed to pay him necessary taxes. 'Narad' and 'Brahaspati' have mentioned the existence of a golden age which 'Kautilya' has not done.

All these writters on Hindu Polity have laid stress on the inability of the institution of the State. State came into being in order to do away with the social chaos. This is what we find in 'Mahabharat' and 'Buddhist scripture of Digghanikaya'. 'Dharmasutra' writers have also mentioned the existence of a contract in order to bring into existence the State or the monarchy.

Salient features of the theory of social contract—After the review of the opinions of various authors about the origin of the State through social contract, we arrive at the following conclusions :—

1. **Condition of chaos**—Prior to the origin of the State, there was a social chaos. In order to do away with this social chaos, people thought of entering into a contract and so the institution of the State came into being.

2. **Chaos preceded by a golden age**—It has also been put down in the scriptures that the social chaos was preceded by a golden age. This golden age degenerated into social chaos and so the need was felt having a king or a State.

3. **Mutual agreement**—In order to do away with the social chaos, people made an agreement. As a result of this agreement, the chaos came to an end.

4. **Political agreement**—After the social agreement, people surrendered a part of their sovereignty to an institution that was known as the State. In

return of this, the king promised to grant them peace and protection. He also charged taxes from these people.

Limitations of the Indian social contract theory.—In Mahabharat and other ancient Indian works, we find mention of the theory of social contract, which brought about the origin of the State The theory may be good and may also give us an idea about the origin of the State but it suffers from the following limitations :—

1. **Bad in history and worse in logic**—This theory does not conform to historical facts and also does not stand the logic. The following lines from Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' give a fine criticism of this theory :—

> "It is now generally recognised that the social contract theory of the origin of government is bad history and worse logic ; it can no doubt explain the origin of a particular form of State among people who have already developed governmental institutions, but it cannot explain how the first agreement took place among the members of a community, which was still in state of nature. Contract is possible only in a society where mutual rights and obligations are respected, and this is obviously impossible in a society where the law of the jungle prevails."

2. **No definite causes of the degeneration of the society**—Most the authors have started with the assumption that originally there was a golden age in the society. Later on, this golden age degenerated into chaos. How and why this happened has not been explained at any stage. This theory, therefore, suffers from bad reasoning.

Social contract theory of the West—Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau were the three main exponents of the theory of social contract in regard to the origin of the State.

According to Hobbes, man is essentially selfish. He, in order to meet his selfish ends, fights with others. Therefore, before the origin of the State, there was neither any law nor justice. Human life was based on 'survival of the fittest' and deceiving all others. Every powerful person suppressed less powerful and every more intelligent person deceived less intelligent. All this was very dangerous, because people lived under the constant fear of annihilation. People, therefore, disgusted with this state of affairs, decided to enter into an agreement to establish a king or a monarch or a State and carry out his orders State, therefore, came into being.

According to this theory, people agreed to carry out the orders of this monarch but the monarch was under no obligation. He had unfettered and unlimitted powers.

Locke and social contract—Locke envisaged that the ancient society of the pre-government period was a golden age. People obeyed the laws of reason and nature. They did not fight among themselves. On the other hand, they respected each others rights and status. Thus, the society flourished and progressed. In this society there were certain individuals who committed the breach of the law. Although the law of the nature was the guiding factor for them, yet due to difference in the intelligence and conflict in the interests, with the passage of time, there grew disputes to put an end to all such disputes and disagreement. The organization of the government came into being. In other words, Locks envisaged that the government originated on account of the desire ty put an end to anarchy and to evolve a better type of society and government. According this contact, two types of agreements were arrived at ; firstly, through an agreement the society with civic and civil rights came into being and, as a result of the second agreement, the State came into being. The second agreement was made between the king and the people. In this respect, Locke differs from Hobbes. In the concept of Hobbes, king was not a party to the agreement and so he had unfettered powers. According to Locke, king was a party to such an agreement and so he did not have unfettered powers. People, when they were tired of the rule of the monarchy, could revolt against the king.

Rousseau's concept of social contract—Rousseau has tried to bring about a co-ordination between the thinking of Hobbes and Locke. He was a moralist and, therefore, tried to judge everything on the basis of the reason. He has envisaged that originally the man was happy. The society he lived in allowed him freedom and so he was satisfied. It was the golden age. By and by degeneration set in. The state of the nature changed. Agriculture and private property came into being and so the state of the nature was changed. These new economic and social institutions brought to the forefront the need for change in the structure of the society. People realising this new need decided to give up certain rights granted to them in the state of the nature and decided to enter into a society that had civic rights. Individuals, therefore, surrendered certain rights to the society. They subjected their individual sovereignty to the general will. Thus, the same came into being.

Theory of social contract about the origin of the State as compared with the Western theory—If we compare the Indian theory of the social contract about the origin of the State with the Western theory, we find a lot of similarity between the two. There are differences as well.

The concept of Hobbes about the original state of the society is quite similar to the concept put forward in Mahabharat. In Mahabharat is has been described that the original state of the society was chaotic and anarchical and so, in order to do away with this, people entered into an agreement to bring about the origin of the State. This is what Hobbes has also said. The following lines bring about this similarity very nicely :—

> "Like most of the ancient Indian thinkers, Hobbes held that there was a state of anarchy in the beginning, the hand of each being against all. Tired of this state, people eventually agreed to surrender part of their rights to the sovereign. It was not, however, a contract between the sovereign on the one side and the people on the other. It was merely an agreement among the people, which imposed no obligation upon the sovereign, who, however, got unlimited and irrevocable rights under it. Hindu writers also, like Hobbes, have pre-supposed a contract, which eventually put an end to the law of the jungle ; but it was not a contract which imposed obligations only on the people. The first king Virajas got no unlimited rights under it ; his power were restricted by the Code of Law prepared by Brahmadev for him."[12]

So far as the theory of Locke is concerned, there is also similarity with the Hindu concept of the social contract about the origin of the State. They have also suggested that there was a fall from the golden age and so there came in the institution of the State. The similarity between the two has nicely been brought out in the following lines :—

> "According to Locke, the state of Nature in the pre-government period was more or less analogous to the Golden Age of the Hindu mythology. People as a general rule obeyed the laws of reason and nature, and respected one another's person and property. Society had thus come

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[12] A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India", page 81.

into existence, but not government. When, however, occasional breaches of law occurred, each individual could act both as a judge and executor of his own decrees, which created certain inconveniences. Though the law of Nature was known to all, still owing to difference of intelligence and conflicts of interests disputes arose as to the method of its enforcement, which gave rise to confusion and uncertainty in life. To put an end to it people entered into a covenant, surrendered their right to enforce the law of Nature and organised a government which was also bound by the terms of the original contract. Hindu writers vaguely suggest that somehow there was a fall from the Golden Age of the primeval period, owing to greed getting the upper hand in human nature. How the greed once absent from human nature began to warp it, they cannot explain just as Locke cannot explain how in a society where the laws of reason prevailed, there were occasional breaches of its provisions and how, when they occurred, every party in the transaction could act both as the judge and the executor. Locke makes the provisions of the original contract binding on the king. Hindu writers seek to regulate his powers by the provisions of the original divine code."[13]

Both these theories pointed out that the institution of State came into being as a result of the desire of the people to put an end to anarchy and evolve a better type of government.

According to Rousseau, as we have already seen, the contract to bring about the State was made between the two parties :—

(*a*) The monarch on the one side ; and

(*b*) The people of the society on the other.

People agreed to surrender their sovereignty in order to get protection and security. This thing has been put forward by the Hindu writers as well. The concept of the contract between the monarch and the people, as described by Kautilya and in Mahabharat, is bilateral. If a monarch failed to provide protection to the people, the people had a right to depose him.

Difference between the theory of the social cotract of the East and that of the West—Although both the theories point out the origin of the State as a result of the social contract, yet there is difference between the two theories. The difference has been pointed out as below :—

1. **Indian theory not fully developed**—Western thinkers have developed the theory of origin of the State thinking that it provides full explanation about the orgin of the government and the society. Indian thinkers did not develop the theory in such a way.

2. **Indian thinkers do not envisage a unilateral agreement on behalf of the people**—They have envisaged a bilateral agreement between the people and the sovereign, which imposed certain obligations on the monarchy as well. It means that the monarch or the king was not granted unfettered powers and rights as it was done in the West. In this respect there is similarity between Rousseau and the Indian thinkers.

3. **Semi-religious and semi-sociological**—The exponents of the theory of the social contract in India did not live in an age of rationalism. They have therefore, not tried to look at the problem of the origin of the State from a purely scholar point of view. On the othar hand, Western thinkers had themselves seen the struggle of the people against autocracy and so they were

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[13] A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India", page 32.

unconsciously influenced by that experience. Indian writers since they did not see such a struggle from rational point of view have tried to look at the question of the origin of the State as a result of the social contract from a semi-sociological point of view. They have conceded the right of the people to revolt against the king, if he failed in his duties.

Modern theories about the origin of the State—Modern writers have advanced several theories about the origin of the State. These theories are enumerated below :—

1 **Voluntary trust of the power**—Some thinkers put forward the idea that the individuals willingly entrusted governmental powers to an individual. Invariably such an individual was considered competent to ensure divine help and favours or cure the maladies of the society. Normally, a priest or a magician or a doctor would get such a position. One he had secured such a power, he managed to retain it though the help of the force.

2. **Patriarchical family system**—About Indo-European communities or Aryan communities, it has been pointed out that the State grew out of the patriarchical system of the family. The patriarch of the joint family weilded wide powers over its members. We find mention of such a society not only in the Vedic literature but also in Roman and Greek literature Patriarch in the pre-historic society occupied the position of king. We have enough individuals about the evolution of the State through this system. In India the State grew out of the institution of the joint family. This is what Professor A. S. Altekar has described in the following lines :—

> "The available evidence thus show that as among other Indo-Aryan communities, State was evolved in India also in pre-historic times out of the institution of the joint family The patriarch of the family was instinctively revered and obeyed ; and social traditions and atmosphere inspired a similar respect for, and evoked a similar obedience to the head of the villages and tribe, who generally acquired the status of chiefs and kings. The power of the kings gradually became more and more extensive as states became larger and larger.
>
> The institution of the joint family thus gradually led to the evolution of kingship. It also presupposed the rise and acceptance of the notion of family property, and also of the inviolability of the sacred family tries and relationship, especially connected with the institution of marriage. Molestation of women had to be stopped and the peaceful enjoyment of property had to be ensured. This could be guaranteed only by the rise of the Institution of State. The institution of the family with the notion of the family property thus played its own part in the origin of the State."[14]

CONCLUSIONS

1. The concept of the state is to be found along with the description of its origin.

2. Different theories have been put forward about the origin of the state in India. They are :—

(*a*) Divine origin theory ;
(*b*) Theory of social contract ;
(*c*) Modern theories about the origin of the state, that mean voluntary trust of the power and the patriarchical family system.

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[14] "State and Government in Ancient India'—pages 35-36

3. There is difference between the western theory of the divine origin of the state and the Indian theory of divine origin of the state.

4. The same is true about the theory of social contract.

5. In Indian theories there is place for revolt against the misdeeds of the monarch but western theories do not permit any such thing.

6. The description about the origin of the state is found in Mahabharat and other books. These books, although essentially deal with the theory of the ancient India, do not lag behind in dealing with science of polity or political science of ancient India.

7. On the basis of these books, we come to the conclusion that there were different theories advanced about the origin of the state in ancient India.

CHAPTER III

TYPES OF THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Describe briefly the different types of States that were to be found in ancient India ? *Or*

Q. Describe different types of States that were known to ancient India and differentiate them from one another ?

Ans Types of States—In ancient India, the only type of the State to be seen most was monarchy. In ancient Indian literature, therefore, we find very little mention about the types of the State. Different writers have given out different theories about the monarchy and its different function. It does not, however, mean that there was no other type of the State except the monarchy. There was republican or democratic type of State as well. Reference to such a republic is to be found in Vedic literature as well.

Different types of States in ancient India—In ancient India, the following types of State were to be seen :—

1. Monarchy.
2. 'Sangha' or 'republic'.
3. Tribal States.
4. 'Rashtra'.
5. Composite and 'Confederate State'.
6. Unitary form State.

Monarchy—This was the most known type of the State. In such a type of the State one single individual ruled the State. There was, however, difference in the degree of the power weilded by these single individuals. In the Vedic period, a monarch has been termed as :—

1. Raja (a king).
2. Maharaja (a great king).
3. Samrat (an emperor).

Raja, was a monarch who ruled over a particular territory and weilded power over it. He also enjoyed some prestige .

Maharaja or a great king weilded greater powers and enjoyed greater prestige as compared to a Raja. It was, however, not possible in those days for a great king to have several kings under him.

Samrat or an emperor was considered superior to both the above types of monarchs. He probably had unfettered power over a big chunk of territory. He also had certain kings and great kings under him.

Different types of States according to rituals : coronation—In certain Vedic literature, reference is found about different types of monarchs in the description of the coronation. They were of the following types :—

1. Rajya.
2. Swarajya.
3. Bhaujya.
4. Vairajya.
5. Maharajya.
6. Samrajya.

On the basis of ancient Indian literature, it can be presumed that these names denote different types of States. Those States were, in fact, nothing but monarchies. They flourished in different provinces of the country.

Types of States on the basis of the autonomy enjoyed by the kings—In the history of the country of the latter period, we find there were different types of kings enjoying different degrees of autonomy. These States conform to the nomenclatures given above. Samrat or an emperor was the king who had an unfettered rule over a particular territory. Under him there were Bhojas and Swarajya. They enjoyed autonomy within their territory but were under the Samrat. Samrat or an emperor naturally had a bigger army and larger dominion. *Vairajya* probably was a republic.

Sangha : republic—Such a State had a democratic form of government. It was ruled by the elected representatives of the people.

Tribal States—Under these States, people of a particular tribe lived. They ruled themselves through their elected representatives. They were like small republics of Greece or Rome.

Rashtra—It was, in fact, a territorial State. Concept of such a State grew in latter Vedic period. In fact, it was a particular territory. The monarch, who ruled over a Rashtra, had several tribal States under him.

Composite and confederate State—In ancient India, there were composite and confederate States as well. *Kurupanchala* State of the latter Vedic period is an example of such a cype of the State. These were two different States that later on joined together for the convenience of administration and to safeguard themselves against foreign invasions. In fact, confederation was a voluntary alliance formed for one or the other political purpose. Such an alliance, some times lasted for a short period but, sometimes it continued for a longer period. For example, *'Lichchavis'* had for sometime formed a confederation once with Mallas and at another time with Videhas. Such a confederation was ruled by people through their elected representatives. Each confederating unit had not its own representatives. Such States had a touch of modern democratic system in them. Probably, the confederating States gave up their sovereignty in regard to foreign policy and defence. In other respects, these units maintained their autonomy.

Unitary form of Government—Essentially, the States and the governments in ancient India were unitary in character, the king being the fountain-source of all power. Village Panchayats, town councils and other regional administrative set-ups were under the over-all control of the king or his representatives. This unitary form of government was modified in accordance with the requirements of the autonomous bodies that functioned according to their own lines.

State with division of executive powers—There were certain States where executive authority was vested in two rules. In fact, such States were originally to be found in Sparta but they were also known in India. At the time of the Alexander, there was such a State at Patal in Sindh. There were two kings. Probably such States came into being as a result of two persons having claim over the throne of a particular territory. When such claim did not ask for the vivisection of the State, they decided to have a dual authority. Such States did not have a stable government. Religious leaders have not supported the idea of such States, because it led to internal fighting.

Oligarchy—In ancient India, there was also oligarchic type of State. In such a State, power was vested in a council of nobles, each member of which was entitled to call himself a king. He also had a right to elect the Chief of the State who was also called a king. It is to such a system of government that reference has been made in Vedic literatures of kings meeting together in an assembly. Such a type of State continued up to Sixth century B. C. and specially in the North Eastern part of India.

Republics—We have already seen that there were republics in the ancient India. These republics existed as early as the Vedic age. They have also been called '*Virat*' types of the States. That, in other words, means that they were old kings. Since in those days monarchy was the only and the most powerful type of the State, any other type of the State could be indicated only by a word that negatived this concept.

City States—There were also city States in India as in the Greece. Such States existed in India is evident from the writings of the Greek authors, who accompanied Alexander when he invaded India. Nyas was the name that was given to such a type of State.

Primprama, Sangala, etc. were such City States.

Types of the States on the basis of the income—In Sukra Niti certain States have also been divided on the basis of the income. A statement of such States is given below :—

1.	'Mandalika'	...	States that had an income from 4 to 10 lacs of siver coins.
2.	'Rajan'	...	A State that had an income of 11 to 20 lacs.
3.	'Maharajya'	...	A state that had an income of 21 to 50 lacs.
4.	Subrajya	...	A state that had an income of 51 to 100 lacs.
5.	Samrajya	...	A state that had an income of 1 crore to 10 crores.
6.	Virajya	...	A state that had an income of 11 crores to 50 crores of silver coins.

In short, it may be said that in the ancient India, the division of the States was made on the basis of different considerations. These types of States continued till India started assuming a new look.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Although in ancient India, the only important type of the state to be known as monarchy, yet books on Hindu science of polity describe other types of states as well,

2. Following were the types of the states to be found in ancient India :—
   - (*a*) Monarchy :
   - (*b*) Sangha or republic ;
   - (*c*) Tribal state ;
   - (*d*) Rashtra ;
   - (*e*) Composite and confedrate state ;
   - (*f*) Unitary form of state.

3. According to the historians of coronation, following were the different types of states :—
   - (*a*) Raj ;
   - (*b*) Swarajya ;
   - (*c*) Bhaujya ;
   - (*d*) Vairajya ;
   - (*e*) Maharajya ;
   - (*f*) Samrajya.

4. According to the basis of the autonomy enjoyed by the kings, the states were classified according to the types enumerated above.

5. In ancient India, there were republic as well.

6. In certain states in ancient India there was also the division of the executive power between the two kings when both of them had the claim over the kingdom.

7. In ancient India there was also oligarchy type of state.

8. In ancient India there were also city states like those of Greece.

9. In books of ancient Indian polity, states have also been classified on the basis of the income.

10. In short, it may be said that in ancient India, states were classified according to different standards.

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPT OF THE STATE IN HINDU POLITY

Q. What do you understand by the Hindu concept of the State ? Explain.

Or

Q. How did the political thinkers of ancient India define State ?

Ans. State—State today is considered and regarded as a political organisation.' According to Garner, it is a group of people, residing on a definite peace of land or territory and having sovereignty and a political machinery to protect their interests. This machinery enjoys the obeisance of the citizens of the State. According to this definition, a State has the following requisites :—

1. Population or a group of people,
2. A definite territory or a peace of land,

3. Sovereignty, and
4. A political machinery or a government, whose orders people are prepared to carry out. (This is the Western concept of the State).

There is no parallel to this concept in India, but it does not mean that there was no Indian concept of the State. A lot of literature is available that defines the ancient Indian concept of the State. Writers of Hindu polity laid down characteristics that help us to have clear idea about the concept of the State. Both Kautilya and Manu have defined the State. According to these writers, "The State was not a loose assemblage of parts each having its own interest and moving at its own will ; it was characterized by an organised unity. The king, the ministry, the resources, the forts, the military forces and the allies constitute, according to these writers, the seven constituents of the State."

Constituents of State or the concept of the State according to Kautilya and Manu—From the above definition it is quite clear that in ancient India, the State was conceived as a well-knit political organisation with the following constituents :—

1. The king.
2. The ministry.
3. The territory.
4. The resources.
5. The fort.
6. The military forces.
7. Allies.

Concept of the State according to Kamandaka and Sukra—Writers of Hindu Polity, like 'Kamandaka' and 'Sukra', have also laid stress on the seven constituents enumerated above. These seven constituents have been enumerated as below :—

1. Svamin (king),
2. Amatyas (ministers).
3. Rashtra (territory).
4. Durgas (forts).
5. Bala (army).
6. Kosh (treasury or resources).
7. Mitra (allies).

These seven constituents of the State were regarded as the limbs of the body polity of the ancient India. According to times and conditions, some of these limbs occupied important place. At other times, other parts occupied more importat place, but all the seven were indispensable and inevitable. The State could not function properly in the absence of all these seven constituents. Really speaking, no limb of the body polity could strictly be regarded as more important than the other.

State as an organic home—Thinkers and writers of ancient India regarded the State as an organic home. Although they have regarded the king and the government as the most important parts of the organism, yet they have treated other parts as inevitable. The following passage from Prof. A. S. Altekar's "State and Government in Ancient India" brings out this thing quite clearly :—

> "It is thus clear that ancient Indian thinkers regarded the State as an organic home. They no doubt regarded the king and the government as the most important limbs of the organism, but others, if less important,

were also indispensable for the proper functioning of the body polity. We should not also forget to note that the organic conception of the State is only partially true. The souls and the limbs of the organism have no separate existence of their own and cannot function independently. Such is obviously not the case with at least some of the constituents of the State. Forts and resources can exist independently and may weild into a new State by some groups of the subjects, who may not be able to see eye to eye with the old government."

Seven constituents of the State—The seven constiuents of the State, as envisaged by Kautilya and others, where expected to possess certain qualities as enumerated below :—

1. **Lord or sovereign**—The king or the sovereign was considered to be the head of the State. According to ancient Indian thinkers, he represented the sovereignty of the people. He was expected to possess the following qualities :—

(*a*) Intelligence.
(*b*) Tolerance.
(*c*) Far-sightedness.
(*d*) Ambition.
(*e*) Capacity to arrive at quick decisions.
(*f*) Strong determination.
(*g*) Capacity to distinguish between good and bad.
(*h*) Personal intergity, discipline. etc.

5. **Amatyas or ministers**—They were the high officials of the State. They formed the cabinet of the advisers to the king. The king acted on their advice. They were expected to be influential, intelligent, sincere, and loyal to the king as well as the public.

3. **Janpad or territory**—According to *Kautilya*, it was the third constituent of the State. It meant land or a particular area of land. In those days it was expected that the territory shall have forts on its borders and in the centre. It was also expected that the land shall be fertile so as to feed the population. *Kautilya* has also put forward that the land should not be surrounded by the enemies.

4. **Forts**—In order to define the territory, it was expected in ancient days that the kings shall build forts. These forts, according to Kautilya, were to be of four kinds :—

(*a*) Forts surrounded by water on all sides ;
(*b*) Forts built like caves ;
(*c*) Forts built on barren lands ; and
(*d*) Forts sorrounded by marshy land and bushes.

5. **Treasury or resources**—No organisation can function without resources, much less a State. Kautilya has, therefore, laid down that every State must have a treasury or resources. It was to consist of gold, silver and other precious stones. It was also expected that it shall be sufficient enough to feed the people in the event of some famine or some other calamity.

6. **Danda or army**—It is necessary to maintain law and order within the territorial jurisdiction of the State and to defend it from foreign invaders. For these twin objectives the king was expected to maintain an army. It was called 'Danda', because it implied force as well as punishment. Soldiers were expected to possess certain qualifies, such as—(*a*) they should belong to the

clan of the warriors ; (*b*) they should be the sons of the soil ; (*c*) their family should be fully satisfied ; and (*d*) they should be prepared to lay down their lives for the motherland and should know the art of fighting.

7 **Mitra or Allies**—Without friends or allies, no State can function properly. These allies or friends were expected to be true to the king. They were also expected to be loyal in the interests of the country.

Relationship between the Prakritis of a State—The seven constituents of a State have a strong relationship with each other. They are expected to work in co-ordination Different writers on Hindu Polity have laid stress on different constituents. Some have given importance to one, while the others have given importance to the other In fact, they form the limbs of an organ and so they have to work in cohesion. Unless there is a king, the sovereignty cannot be exercised. Today king has been replaced by a democratic set-up. Unless there is a territory, people cannot live. Similarly, without army or force, it is not possible to maintain law and order. Without resources or treasury, it is not possible to maintain the existence of the State, feed people and maintain an army. An isolated State cannot function successfully. All this goes to indicate that it is needless to give importance to one constituent or the other. The basic fact to be kept in mind is the co-ordinated working of the State.

Nationality—Today a great of stress is laid on nationality. If a State has people of one nationality, it is considered to be an ideal State. Nationality implies that people should belong either to one race, one religion or speak one language or should be united by some other bond. Sometimes, political considerations also bind people into one nationality. Ancient Indian writers have not cared to dilate on this point. They have not discussed the point whether people of a State should belong to one nationality or not. In fact, there was no such question in those days. The process of integration in ancient India was so fast that the question of separate entity did not bother the rulers of those days. In ancient India, we find that there were governors and rulers who belonged to foreign countries, but very soon they were integrated into Indian life.

Unity of language, race and religion – Writers of ancient Indian Polity have also not bothered to lay down that there should be unity of language, race and religion amongst the people of a particular State. In fact, there was no such need. India was even in those days a multilingual, multi-religious and multi-racial State, yet there was unity. In fact, there was unity in diversity in ancient India. This fact has very nicely been summed up in the following lines :—

> "A state no doubt becomes homogenous if there is unity of language, race and religion among its subjects. Ancient Indian writers have not emphasised upon this point, because there was no necessity whatsoever to do so. Most of the states in ancient India did not differ from their neighbours either in race or in language or in religion. Hindus, Buddhist and Jains lived in all states peacefully and harmoniously. Sanskrit was the international language and Prakrits and not differentiated from one another to such a degree as to become mutually unintelligible. All the foreigners who were coming into the country, used to be rapidly Indianised and completetely absorbed into the Hindu community. Thus the different states in ancient India did not at all differ in race, language or religion. Most of them had developed into separate entities primarily owing to individual ambition, administrative convenience or geographical considerations. It did not, therefore, occur to our thinkers that they should emphasise upon the advisablity of racial, linguistic or religious uniformity in the population of a state."

The concept of the state in ancient India as compared to the modern concept of the state—The modern concept of the state has laid down four requisites of a state :—

1. Territory or land.
2. Population.
3. Unity or sovereignty.
4. Organisation or government.

According to Western writers, no state is possible without a territory. Similarly, population is the second requisite. No definite principle has been laid down about the population, although political thinkers since the times of Plato to Rousseau, have tried to specify figure. State must enjoy sovereignty In other words, it means that it should be subservient to none People of the state should have a bond of unity and there should be an organisation, which, in other words, means a government. This machinery keeps people together. (The Western or the modern thinkers are content to lay down the four constituents of the state, but political thinkers of ancient India have laid down seven constituents of the state. Ancient Indian writers and modern writers agree on the inevitability of the population and the territory or the land. According to Kautilya's Artbashastra, the term 'Janpad' implies territory or land. He has laid down the requisites of the territory. According to his Arthashastra, the land should be quite livel and fertile. He has also laid down the requisites of the population. In fact, the two constituents of the State enumerated above were to be found in India much before the birth of the Western polity or modern science of the government.

Modern writers have also laid stress on 'unity' or 'a political unity'. According to ancient Indian thinkers, this unity is implied in *'Swamin'* or 'sovereign'. The element of sovereignty is also implied in it. It has also been laid down in the ancient Indian polity that the territory over which a king rules should be independent and not a part of any other political unity. Modern writers on polity have not explicitly talked about the constituents of 'ally', which has been considered inevitable by ancient Indian thinkers. By implicationally means the sovereignty of the State. Only a sovereign state can enter into friendship with other states.) This comparison has nicely been brought out in the following lines :—

> "Of the seven constituents, swamin (king) and amatyas (ministers) constituted the central government, which exercised the sovereien powers and imparted the central unity. Rashtra (territory), durgas (forts), bala (army) and kosha (treasury) constituted the resources of the state. The stage of the tribal state had long passed, and so territory was regarded as an essential element of the state. Forts and armed forces were vitally necessary to defend the very existence of the state and so are regarded as its essential constituents. The defence of the country and the proper discharge of the constituent and ministrant (functions of the state required ample resources and so kosha (treasury) as also regarded as indispensable to the very existence of the state. The inclusion of its allies among the constituents of a state strikes us as rather strange. The existence of a state, however, depends, as contemporary history has been showing in a forcible manner, upon its securing a proper balance of power by making suitable alliances. A large number of small states existed in the Indian sub-continent, and our political thinkers felt that the existence of none could be guaranteed for a long time unless a proper balance of power was secured by wise alliances.) It is a little surprising to note that population as such is not mentioned as one of the consti-

tuents of the state ; that was probably because it was realised that it was too evident a truth to be specifically mentioned.[15]

What is meant by the term "organisation" in the modern concept of state is implied in the terms 'svamin' and 'Amatya' of the ancient polity. These two institutions rule and run the state. They also carry out the administration. They also show the distinction between the rulers and the ruled. How this administration should be carried out has been clarified by the terms 'durga' (fort), kosh (treasury) and danda (army). Without these three constituents, it is not possible to carry out the administrative efficiency.

From the discussion given above, it is now quite clear that all the constituents of the state as conceived by the modern thinkers are to be found in the constituents envisaged by the writers of the ancient polity. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has brought out this comparison in the following lines :—

> "The prakritis enumerated by the political thinkers of Ancient India are intended to describe the nature of the state, but it is curious that it makes no attempt to set forth the exact nature of it. 'Territory' and population' may be looked upon as elements of the state, but 'unity' and 'organisation can scarcely be so described. The last two are not concrete things. They are characteristics, but not elements, of the state. They are useful for framing its definition, but not for describing its composition, Hindu polity not only tries to describe the nature of the state. but does it apparently with some exactitude and thoroughness. They not only fulfil the modern definition of the state, but even enable us to determine in what respects this definition is perhaps somewhat deficient. The Modern political thinkers think of the statically and not dynamically. Their definition describes the state rather internally than externally. Hindu polity, on the other hand, looks at the composition of the state as a whole, that is, perceives it not as a thing in itself but as one political entity among and in relation to many. This evident from the fact one of the constituents of the state is Mitra or ally, who can figure only in the international sphere. This Mitra is the Svamin of another state. This foreign but important aspect of it is made prominent by Hindu theorists whenever they describe the state.[16]

Organic nature of the state—Two important political thinkers, namely, *Professor Leacock* and *Gettle*, have lain down the four essentials or requisites of a state. But Professor Bluntsschli has laid down a fifth requisite in his 'The Theory of the State.' He has also laid great stress on it. According to Professor Bluntschli, 'The State is not a lifeless instrument, a dead machine, but a living organism not of a lower but of a high order.' According to him the state has the following elements as well :—

1. Spirit and body ;
2. Members with various special functions ; and
3. It develops and grows.

According to him, this organic nature of the state has not been properly understood and laid stress upon. This organic concept of the state was also not unknown to the ancient Indian thinkers, They have also *'regarded the state as on organic whole'*. The constituents of the state have been regarded as the limbs of the organism. It is another point that the king and the government have

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15. A, S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India".
16. D. R. Bhandarkar—"Some Aspect of Ancient Hindu Polity"—The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 19 5.

been regarded as the most important limbs. While other limbs have been described as less important, yet they have also been termed as indispensable for the proper functionioning of the body polity. *Kautilya* and *Kamandak* have also laid stress on this concept. Shankarachary, the famous philosopher and thinker, has described the state as a chariot which, by implication, means that all the organs of the state have to work in co-ordination and cohesion. Manu has also stressed this concept. In Manu Smriti, it has been said, "Yet in state composed of seven limbs, which is upheled like the triple staff (of an ascetic) there is none more important (than the others) by reason of the importance of the qualities of each for the others. For each part is particularly qualified for (the accomplishment of) certain objects, (and thus) each is declared to be the most important for the particular purpose which is affected by its means."

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India state was also considered to be a political organisation.

2. There is a lot of similarity between the modern concept of the state and the ancient Indian concept of the state.

3. Manu and Kautilya have laid down the following seven constituents of the state :—

(*a*) King.
(*b*) Ministry.
(*c*) Territory.
(*d*) Resources.
(*e*) Fort.
(*f*) Military forces.
(*g*) Allies.

4. These constituents are quite similar to the modern constituents :—

(*a*) Population.
(*b*) Territory.
(*c*) Sovereignty.
(*d*) Government or a political machinery.

5. Kamandak and Sukra have laid down the following seven constituents of the state :—

(*a*) Svamin or king.
(*b*) Amatya or minister.
(*c*) Rashtra or territory.
(*d*) Durgas or forts.
(*e*) Bal or army.
(*f*) Kosha or treasury or resources.
(*g*) Mitra or allies.

6. All these constituents of the state were expected to possess certain qualities in them.

7. In those days note much of stress was laid on the nationality or language.

8. Ancient Indian polity envisages the organic nature of the state This concept of the state is quite similar to the modern concept of the state as an organic whole.

9. In short, it may be said that the concept of the state in ancient India was quite scientific and modern.

CHAPTER V

NATURE AND THE AIMS OF THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Describe briefly the nature and the aims of the state in ancient India as given in the Hindu Science of Polity ?

Ans. State and its nature—State came into being in the pre-historic age. It was evolved for the efficient protection of human life and for better realisation of its high ideals. In ancient Indian literature, state has not been described as a necessary evil, as we find it described in some of the Western literarure. In fact, Indian concept of the state was positive. It was helpful for good people. Such an institution is bound to be painful to evil-doers, but they are not normal and welcomed members of the society. In an ideal state, both the king and his subjects were expected to follow the provisions of the divine code for peace and prosperity. This observance of duty was not confined to this world only, but it was meant for the world hereafter.

Danda and the concept of the state—In ancient Indian polity, there is provision for Danda or punishment. On account of this thing, some people had thought that force was the ultimate sanction behind the state or government. Really speaking, danda or punishment was not the normal method of enforcing law and order. It was meant for those people who did not observe the rules of the society in a normal manner. It was meant for antisocial element and so. It should not be conceived that the concept of ancient Indian polity is based on 'force' or 'danda'.

Tribal and territorial state—In the early Vedic period, state was essentially tribal. Later on, it became 'territorial'. This thing has been very well brought out in the following lines :—

> "The available evidence, however, shows that the state in the early Vedic period was still tribal. The Yadus, the Turvasas and the Bharatas, for instance, who played a prominent part in the Vedic history, had for a long time no permanent territorial basis for their states ; the latter moved along with the peoples of their tribes and had thus only a tribal basis. In the later Vedic period, however, the state became territorial ; we have clear references to the different tribes setting down in the different parts of the country, and to kings becoming masters both of their people as well as their country (rashtra) (In the later Vedic period the emperor is described as one who rules over the earth bounded by the oceans."[17]

State as an inevitable instrument of maintaining social discipline—Political thinkers of ancient India have described the state as an inevitable institution for enforcement of social discipline. In other words, it may be said that state has been regarded as an inevitable social institution. Kautilya in his Arthashastra has said so. The same thing is to be found in the Shantiperva of Mahabharat. The state as conceived by ancient Indian thinkers is not a loose assemblage of certain parts. It was regarded as a well-knit political organisation This point is further strengthened by the description given about the functions of the king in Kautilya's Arthashastra and Mahabharat.

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[17] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

State as an indispensable institution for safeguarding the interests of the people—In Shantiperva of Mahabharat, it has been said that 'the sinful man derives great pleasure by plundering the wealth of other people.' This situation is tolerable neither to good people nor even to wicked. If in times of anarchy, the wealth that the wicked people can snatch away by others, they also wish to have a king. In primitive days snatching the wealth of others by force, forcible abduction of women and such other deeds were a common feature. In order to protect the wealth and the people, the state came into being. According to ancient Indian thinkers, state is, therefore, an indispensable institution for the protection of the wealth and the people. In the dialogue between Brahaspati and Vasumanas we also find that the state has been regarded as an indispensable institution that checks the evils and protects the good. 'If there was no state or king, the strong would devour the weak, just as fish do in water.' This thing has also been stressed by Kautilya in his Arthashastra as below :—

> "Because if the chastising right is not exercised, it brings about the realization of the proverb of the greater fish swallowing the smaller. In the absence of the weilder of the chastising right, (the state or the king), the strong devours the weak."

Organic unity of the state - We have already seen that the state has certain limbs or constituents. These limbs help the state in discharging different functions. These limbs should be well co-ordinated. Only then it shall be possible for the state to discharge its socio-religious functions for which it is meant. There must be organic unity in the various limbs or constituents of the state. We have already seen that these limbs are seven in number.

In short, it may, therefore, be said that the ancient Indian writers have conceived 'state' as an indispensable socio-religious institution that must have an organic unity in order to be able to discharge its functions properly.

Aims of the state - No institution can run without certain aims and objects. This is more true about socio-religious and political institutions. State is all this in one. The aims of the state have been put down in the ancient literature as the duties of the king. The main aim of the state of the king is 'to ensure yoga and chhem to their subjects and remove their sins'. What is meant by yoga and chhem will help us to understand properly the aims of the state. In *Mitakshar*, the phrase 'yoga chhem' has been explained as below :—

> "Yoga means the acquisition of what has not been acquired and 'chhem' the preservation of what has been acquired. In short, it means that yoga-chhem implies (*a*) Security of possession or (b) safety of property".

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has tried to explain it further in the following lines :—

> "If we naw consider the extracts we have cited from Chapters 67 and 68 of the Santiparvan, we shall be in a position to understand what is meant by yogakshema. If there is no king, nobody, we are told, can with reference to any article in his possession say—'This is mine', and wicked people will snatch away the food, vehicles, robes, ornaments, precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others Women, again, are forcibly abducted. When the king, however, protects, man can sleep at pleasure with the doors of their houses open, and even women decked with ornaments can fearlessly go to any place without any male relatives to escort them. Again, if there is no king, he who is not a slave is made a slave, and there is no agriculture, no commercial roads, and famine ravages the country. This word is rooted in Varta, which consists of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade. All this

> remains intact if the king protects. In fact, all legal and economic ties of society are snapped, if there is no king to govern a country. This in short, is what is intended to be understood by the yoga-kshema, which the king grants to his people."

We have also seen that the *king its expected to destroy or remove the sins of Subjects* What are the sins that have to be destroyed ? Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his series of lecture entitled 'The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures'—'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity', has described it as given below :—

> "Let us now try to understand what sins exactly the king is expected to destroy in his kingdom. Here too the extracts quoted above come to our help. Of course, when the king insists upon his men respecting the mutual rights of property, the sin of appropriating what does not belong to oneself is no doubt removed. But there were other kinds of sins also which the king dissipated. For, we are told, that if the king did not protect, men would harass and even harm their mothers, fathers, preceptors, guests, and other elderly people, and that all restrictions about marriage and intercourse would cease. In other words, the moral and family ties of society would be swept away in the absence of royal protection. These sins, however, are not possible if the king exercises the duty of protection. It will be thus seen that if there is no king at the helm of the affairs of a kingdom, all wholesome barriers are destroyed, and all ties, not only legal, but also social, and moral, that bind men into society, are cut as under. But this is not all. For, if we carefully study the excerpts cited above, we shall find that they speak also of the religious ties. For, have we not been told that if the king did not protect, the three Vedas would disappear, sacrifices would not be performed, there would be brahmanicide, and that there would be no detection of impurity of birth and consequently there would be intermixture of castes ? It will be noticed that what we have stated in describing the social, moral and legal ties of society holds good for states of all ages and all climes."

In short, it may be said that the state or the king aimed at the following :—

1. Insisting upon his men to respect the mutual rights of property.
2. Preservation of the family ties and moral bindings of the society.
3. Observance of the social, moral and legal duties of the society.

Four aims of the state—According to the ancient Indian polity, the following are the four aims of the state :—

1. peace.
2. Order.
3. Security.
4. Justice.

In the Vedic literature, it has been enjoined upon the king to carry out the following four aims. Since in those days state meant only the king, they formed the aims of the state.

Aims of the state as numerated in latter writings no Hindu polity—After the Vedic period, some change took place in the concept about the aims of the state. This change did not materially affect the basic aims of the state, yet there was some change. According to latter literature, the following have been laid down as the aims of the state :—

1. Dharma.

2. Artha.
3. Kama.
4. Moksha.

In fact, these four were only the aims of the state alone. They were the aims of the society as well as individuals. Let us elucidate them further.

Dharma By dharma it was meant that the individuals shall try to discharge their moral and religious obligations. . It was enjoined upon the state to see to it that people discharge their moral, religious and ethical duties. By implication it also meant that the state would punish all such persons who did not discharge these obligations. It was also expected of the state that it shall try to preserve the structure of the society and also bring about its progress.

Artha—Artha, according to ancient Indian literature, means material wealth. Indian literature on polity has enjoined upon the individuals to bring about the material well-being of the society. Individuals were expected to earn their livelihood, sufficient enough to preserve their family and also to bring about the welfare of the society. It has also been enjoined upon the state to see that the people observe this aim.

Kama—By laying down Kama as one of the aims of the state, the ancient writers of Hindu Polity meant that the monarch or the state should try to help the citizens fulfil their desires, of course, in consonance with the requirements of the society and lead a happy life. It was enjoined upon the state to provide such opportunities to its subjects that would bring about a happy and peaceful life for them. The following extract from Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' clarifies this point further :—

> "The state was to promote Kama by ensuring peace and order, so that each individual may enjoy life undisturbed, and by offering encouragement to fine art like music, dance, painting, sculpture and architect in order to promote aesthetic culture."

Moksha—Moksha is the ultimate aim of the individual as well as the social life. If the other three aims were fulfilled, they naturally brought about the fourth point. It is nothing but fullest possible development of the personality, material as well as spiritual.

What is meant by Dharma as an aim of the state ?—Some misunderstanding seems to have cropped up in regard to dharma being an aim of the state. Some writers have by this thought that the state aimed at propagation of a particular dharma or sect. It was not so. According to Prof. Altekar, "The state was to promote dharma not by championing in particular sect or religion, but by fostering a feeling of piety and religiousness, by encouraging virtue and morality, by extending help to these establiehments belonging to all religions and sects, by maintaining free hospitals and feeding houses for the poor and decripits and last but not least by extending patronage to literature and science."

The king or the state was expected to preserve and encourage the institutions of 'Varnas' and 'Ashramas'. These two institutions, as they exist today, are based on inequitous principles. These principles give Brahmans a high place while Sudras a low place. It is contended that by being champion to these principles the monarch or the state propagated inequality in the society. In fact, this criticism is founded on misunderstanding of the concept of the dharma. It seems to have been conceived with the inequitous social order. This king was supposed to be guided by customs and traditions and so if he did not insist on changing the existing social order, he was not doing anything wrong. He was only discharging his duties properly and faithfully. Legislation was not in those days the job of the state. It was the right of the leaders of the society. The king or the state only carried out the exisiting law. The monarch or the state if he did not interfere with the existing law, it was not doing anything wrong. In fact, it was confining itself to the aims already laid down for it. The institution of Panchayat in those days had the status of judicial body. The inequities, therefore, went on because of the limitations imposed by the society and the law makers on the state. This point has been well-illustrated by Prof. A. S. Altekar in the following extract from 'State and Government in Ancient India' :—

> "The above criticism is mostly based upon a misunderstanding of the factors that have promoted the development of the Hindu social institutions. Customs and traditions changed in ancient India by the silent operation of social approval or disapproval and not by the noisy process of a legislative enactment or repeal. The state only enforced what has been previously approved by the social conscience. When society in early period was sanctioning intercaste dinners and marriages, the state had no objection to them. When later on it disapproved both these practices, the state did not propose to encourage them. In early days widows had no right of inheritance ; the property of a person having no heir other than a widow escheated to the state. Later on society decided to recognise widow as an heir of her deceased husband, and though this change adversely affected the interest of the exchequer, the state cheerfully sanctioned it. The recognition of the promotion of dharma as one of the duties of the state did not result in the apotheosis of the status quo ; every student of Hindu social institution will concede that changes were gradually and continuously taking place in them. Levirate (niyoga), once approved, was later stamped out of existence ; not only the proprietary rights of women, but also those of the Sudras were being constantly enlarged in spite of the opposition of the earlier writers".

Prof. Altekar, while defining the role of the state, has clarified it further in following lines :—

> "It would, therefore, be unfair to attribute the existence of certain iniquities in the Hindu social order to dharma being considered as one of the aims of the Hindu state. The state no doubt claimed to be the champion of varnadharma, but it did not support the Brahmana's claim to their exemption from the taxation and the capital punishment. It is extremely doubtful whether many cases had occurred in ancient India of the state punishing the Sudras and Brahmana women for presuming to study the Vedas. The prohibition was regarded by the society, including the Sudras, as divinely ordained, and as there was no material benefit whatsoever to be gained by its violation, there was no incentive to break it. The number of Brahmanas themselves, who studied the Vedas, was microscopically small and provision was made to meet the needs of the religiously minded persons among the Sudras and Brahmana women by throwing open the epics, the Gita and the Puranas to them.
>
> "There is no doubt that some iniquities existed in the Hindu social order and their number increased in the first millennium of the Christian era. But that was due to the narrow-mindedness of the Hindu society of that age and not to the state's making dharma as one of its aims. Of course it can be argued that the state should have given a lead in the matter by encouraging a more-liberal policy. We should, however, not forget that the legislation did not come within the normal activities of the state. Recent experience in our country about the Sharda Act also shows that

legislation, far in advance of the social views on the point, ends to remain dead letter. The state was not interested in enforcing caste iniquities ; if any cases actually arose, they must have been decided by the caste or the village Panchayats, which were purely non-official bodies. The state sought to encourage dharma by promoting piety and religiousness, by extending equal patronage to all sects and religions and their establishments and by financing works of public utility like tanks, canals, wells, poor houses and hospitals, and not by becoming an instrument in the hands of the church or the priests".[18]

CONCLUSION

1. There is difference between the Western and the Indian concept of the nature of the state.

2. Indians have not conceived the states as the necessary evil.

3. Although dand or punishment is an integral part of the state, yet Indian concept of the state is not solely based on force.

4. Originally in India there were tribal states. Later on, they assumed the form of territorial states.

5. In India state has been conceived as an inevitable instrument of maintaining social discipline.

6. It has also been conceived as an indispensable institution for safeguarding the interests of the people.

7. Indian thinkers have conceived the state as an organic whole.

8. The first aim of the state is to bring about the welfare of the people or the subjects.

9. It is also the duty of the state to destroy the sins of the people.

10. Some of the authors of Hindu Policy have laid down the following four aims of the state :—

    (*a*) Peace.
    (*b*) Order.
    (*c*) Security.
    (*d*) Justice.

11. Dharma, artha, kama and moksha have also been laid down as the aims of the state.

12. In Indian concept of the state, dharma does not mean following a particular religion. It involves much more than that.

13. Dharma is very secular in Indian polity. It is, in fact, a sum total of the rules and regulations that bring about the welfare of the people.

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[18] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

CHAPTER VI

FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

Q. Discuss briefly the various functions of the state in ancient India ?

Or

Q. "The functions of the state in Ancient India extend over a wide field of people's life." Justify this statement according to Kautilya's Arthashastra and other authoritative works ?

Ans. **Ancient Indian State – Was it secular or theocratic**—Before we start discussing the functions of the state, it shall be better if we find out whether it was secular or theocratic. If the state in ancient India was essentially a theocratic state, it had no other function except to propagate a particular religion or sect If it was not so. it aimed at other things as well. The need to verify this position has arisen on account of dharma being one of the aims of the state. Although it has been clarified in the arlier pages, yet there is need to do so further while discussing the functions of the state.

Theocratic state—A state becomes theocratic when the king influences the functions of the church.. It can be seen in the case of Khalifas, Dalai, Lama of Tibet and the Pope of the Vatican Kingdom. It was also to be seen in the days of Ashoka, and some other rulers of Britain. But this situation did not last long in India.

Conflict between the king and the church—Ancient Indian literature has given a detailed description of the conflict between the king and the church or the religious institutions. No doubt, up to 1000 B. C. or up to the end of the Brahmana period, the state was dominated by the institution of priests or the church. But this thing disappeared later on.

Secular character of the state—Ancient Indian states, in spite of the influence of the religious leaders, were essentially secular. Kshatriyas were the ruler and the Brahmans were the leaders of the society. Although Brahmans exercised a lot of influence over the state, yet the king or the monarch did not confine his activities to one particular sect or religion. It has been well brought out by works like '*Taittiriya Brahmana*' and '*Attiriya Brahmana*'.

Since 4th century B. C., the theoratic complexion of the state declined still further. Politics developed into a special science. By the beginning of the Christian era, the Hindu polity had completely been emancipated from the strings of theory. Although the king was regarded as protector and enforcer of dharma, yet he did not make the state theocratic. He also did not give preference to a particular sect or religion. He granted patronage to all sects and religions and enforced customary laws approved by the society. No doubt he encouraged the promotion of piety and religiousness.

Influence of religion on polity—Although ancient Indian state had assumed a secular complexion, yet Hindu polity was influenced by religious concepts. The king at the time of coronation was struck by dharma danda and it proved the ultimate supremacy of the dharma, which, amongst other things, included religion as well. Even the king, if he committed violation of dharma, was to be punished by God. Since dharma was supreme, the Hindn science of polity did not grow as '*reasoned philosophy of the people or opposition to tyranny*'.

Influence of the doctrine of Karma—The theory that one suffered for his duties also influenced the king. They tried to discharge their duties honestly so that they were saved from the misfortunes of the Hell hereafter.

Supremacy of the moral orders—Since moral order waa regarded as supreme, it did influence the course of the development of Hindu polity. Moral order was a part of the religion and so religious concepts did influence the concept of Hindu polity.

King as the divine guardian—In ancient India, God was recognized as omnipresent and given of all good things. This had its influence on Hindu polity. . Later on the king came to be regarded as the representative of '*Vishnu*' and so the kings tried to discharge their duties faithfully and in the interest of the people. Since God was recognized as a protector of good persons and things, the kings also encouraged them.

Aparigraha—This principle involved giving up of the possessions. Those people who followed this principle were freed from the burden of taxation and other levies of the state. Kings also followed this principle.

Philosophy of Vedanta—According to Vedantic philosophy, God or soul was one. This, in other words, means social, economic and legal equality. This equality is also to be found in the Buddhist philosophy. All this had its influence on the concept of polity.

Although religion did not influence very deeply the course of the Hindu Polity, yet it had some influence. Ancient Indian state, in spite of its theocratic tint, was essentially secular and so its functions were like that.

Type of the functions of the State—There are two types of theories that lay down the functions of the state :—

(*a*). Individualistic ; and

(*b*) Socialist theory.

According to the advocates of the individualistic theory, state is a necessary evil that interferes with the individual property and freedom. Thinkers of this category place the individual above the society. They believe that the welfare of the individual is ultimately the welfare of the society and, therefore, the individual must be granted greater freedom. They also put forward the viewpoint that the state should try to interfere least the affairs of the individual.

On the other hand, believers in the socialist theory put the society over and above the individual. They put forward the viewpoint that the welfare of the society ultimately leads to the welfare of the individual. The state should, therefore, control the working of the society. Believers in the philosophy do not hesitate in asking for maximum interference in the life of the individual. Socialist thinkers put the interest of the society over and above the interest of the individual.

According to these two theories, different types of functions of the state have been laid down.

Categories of the functions of the state—According to modern political thinkers, the functions of the state are divided into two categories :—

(*a*) Constituent functions ; and

(*b*) Ministrant functions.

Constituent function of the state—These functions are more or less compulsory and unavoidable. Without discharge of these functions, the working of the state is endangered. These functions include (*i*) defence against foreign aggression ; (*ii*) protection of personal property ; (*iii*) preservation of peace and (*iv*) Adjudication or justice.

These functions are inevitable for the orderly organization of society.

Ministrant functions—These functions include those activities of the state that are undertaken in order to bring about and promote the welfare of the people. They are intended at making people more prosperous and add to their amenities. These functions include the following :—

(*i*) Education.
(*ii*) Sanitation.
(*iii*) Postal service.
(*iv*) Trade regulations.
(*v*) Roads and communication.
(*vi*) Development of mineral and forest wealth.
(*vii*) Care of the poor, invalid and infirm, etc.

Modern tendency about the functions—Today the concept of the welfare state is gaining strength day by day. With the growth of this concept, greater stress is laid on the increase in the ministrant or welfare functions. State is now considered to be an effective instrument for the welfare of the people. No state worth the name can now live without discharging the ministrant functions.

Functions of the state in ancient India—We come to the conclusion that in those the state confined itself only to constituent or compulsory functions. By and by the functions of the state grew and expanded.

Functions of the state in the Vedic period—In the Vedic period the state confined itself only to constituent functions. This is what is gathered from the following lines from *Prof. Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India'* :—

> "The available evidence shows that for a long time the state in ancient India confined itself only to the constituent functions. The Vedic state protected citizens from foreign aggression It also maintained internal order by enforcing respect for the traditional law. Like Varuna, the celestial king, the Vedic monarch was dharmapati, the protector and dharma. Even the civil and cirminal cases were decided by popular bodies (sabhas) ; whether they were presided over by a royal officer is not definitely known."

Expansion of the functions of the state between Vedic and Mauryan period—On the basis of the literature on Hindu polity available to us, we come to the conclusion that the functions of the state expanded and developed in accordance with the new requirements of the society. Mahabharat and Arthasastra very clearly show that the state activities had greatly expanded and extended between the Vedic and Mauryan period.

Functions of the state according to Mahabharat and Arthasastra—'*Mahabharat*' and 'Arthasastra' are two important books that put forward a lot of information about the politics of ancient India. According to these books, the functions of the state in ancient India covered almost all the aspects of human life. These functions can be divided into the following three categories :—

(*a*) Social functions ;
(*b*) Economic functions ; and
(*e*) Religious functions.

In those days state was not regarded as a necessary evil. It was regarded, as already stated, an indispensable instrument of welfare of the people. On account of this theory, the activities of the state embraced almost all the aspects of human life. This human life was not confined to the life in this world only, It included life hereafter as well.

Religious functions of the state—'*Kautilya*' has laid down that the state should discharge different functions relating to the religious life of the people. It was expected to provide facilities to all religions and sects to develop on their own lines. These religions and sects were expected to raise the standards of morality, piety and righteousness. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "The state was to offer facilities to religions and sects to develop on their own lines and foster and inculcate piety, morality and righteousness."[19]

Social functions of the state—State in ancient India was expected to bring about improvement in the social order by encouraging education and learning. This very clearly indicates that the concept about the functions of the state in ancient India was that of a welfare state. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "It (state) was to improve the social order and to encourage learning, education and art by subsidizing learned academies and extending patronage to scholars and artists. It was to establish and maintain rest houses, charity halls and hospitals and relieve the distress due to floods locusts, famines, pestilences and earthquakes."

Economic functions of the state—States was also expected to bring about the economic development of the society. No society can progress unless it has a sound economic base. The state was, therefore, expected to bring about the improvement and development of agriculture, industry, trade and commerce. In those days there used to be officers, especially appointed for this purpose This is what is evident from the following lines :—

> "It (state) was to see that the population is evenly distributed and encourage colonization of fresh lands. It was to enrich the resources of the country by development forests, working mines and constructing dams and canals in order to make agriculture independent of rain, as far as possible. It was to offer active help to trade and industry, but also to protect the population against capitalistic selfishness, if, mercant princes sought to corner the market and raise the prices.[20]

Checking vices—The state in those days was responsible for checking the vices. The following lines from *Altekar's State and Government in Ancient India*' corroborate this statement :—

> "It (state) was to regulate the vices of the community by appointing its own officers to supervise over wine booths, gambling houses and prostitutes."

Security against foreign aggression—The state in ancient India did carry out its functions to provide security against foreign aggression. It was the first and the foremost duty of every state. Whenever '*Shakas*', 'Kushans', '*Hoons*' etc. invaded India, they were met by the armies of the kings of these states.

Internal security and order—Providing with internal security and order was considered to be one of the most important functions of the state. It was the duty of the king or the state to provide people with a social order in which they could live peacefully and without fear of the loss to their person and property. The officers of the government were expected to carry out the administration of the kingdom with this aim in view.

Protection and propagation of learning—According to Kautilya, it was the bounden duty of every state to provide protection to education and educators and also to bring about improvement in this field. The following lines from

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19. A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India'.
20. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government In Ancient India.'

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity' corroborate this point :—

> "The state recognized its duty towards education, and disburse money, grants or pensions to those engaged in the teaching of the shastras. Priests and learned Brahmans were endowed with land. Forests for the study of the Vedas and the growing of the *Soma* plant were entrusted to Brahmans. Srotriyas were exempted from taxation and received other kinds of help. The state also seems to have employed many classes of teachers (acharyas) and also men proficient in science (vidyavantah)."

Help to distressed members of the society—The modern most concept of the welfare state implies giving help to the distressed members of the society. This was considered to be an important function of the state. *Kautilya* has said that "*the king shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless with subsistence. He shall also maintain (helpless) women when they are carrying and also the children they may give birth to,*" whereas the modern concept of the welfare state has gone ahead of this saying of Kautilya.

Functions of the state in ancient India were guided more by socialist philosophy than individualistic theory. If we look at the functions of the state in ancient India, we find that they were guided by the philosophy which in modern term is known as socialist philosophy. In those days this all embracing form of the state did not bring about any interference with the individual liberty. There was, in fact, a harmony between the individual liberty and the functions of the state.

Co-ordination between individual liberty and social welfare—Functions of the state in ancient India bring about a co-ordination between individual liberty and the social welfare. This is what has been described in the following lines :—

> "Ancient Indians permitted the state a wide sphere of activity, not because they did not value individual liberty, but because they felt that state could organize them best by reconciling conflicting interests, if its bureaucracy works in closer co-operation with well-established popular bodies like the trade guilds and village councils."

Distribution of the functions—Normally, the state has three types of functions :—

(*a*) Legislative ;
(*b*) Executive ; and
(*c*) Judicial.

These functions were to be discharged by the king in ancient time as well. Today the *President of the Indian Republic* is the final source of all executive, legislative and judicial powers But in practice things are quite different. The Prime Minister invariably discharges all the executive functions Similar was the case in ancient India. Although the king was considered to be the source of all power ; legislative, executive and judicial, yet in practice things differed from age to age.

In *Vedic Time* the 'Samiti' or the Parliament shared the executive power with the king. It also had the capacity to overthrow the king when he did not act in the best interest of the country or the society.

In the *post-Vedic period*, the king was the supreme judicial functionary but, in practice, institutions like panchayats discharged these functions.

In the *past-Vedic period* era, the Parliament lost its existence as a legislative organ of the state. All these powers were vested in the king. He now became the most powerful legislative as well as executive functionary. In ancient India, really speaking, the laws were farmed. by the religious leaders. Smirits contain these laws. However, the king, who represented state in those days, soon assumed the power to frame ordinances, if not laws. In Sukra Niti, king has been endowed with such a power.

By and by king assumed all these powers and in the times of Guptas the king became the most powerful legislative, executive and judicial functionary. Other bodies could only contest its powers in a limited manner.

Concept of sovereignty and the functions of the state—In ancient India. the concept of sovereignty, as envisaged in the modern political through, had not developed fully. In the Vedic period this sovereignty was vested in the king and the Parliament but later-on it came to be vested only in the king.

In republics also this sovereignty became the right of one individual, whether he was king or the President.

'Dharma' in those days was considered to be supreme. King was not considered over and above dharma. He had to carry out the requirements of dharma. By and by this situation changed and king came to be recognized as above the punishment, because he was considered to be the representative of God. The situation about sovereignty in ancient India has nicely been summed up by *Prof. Altekar* in the following lines :—

> "Another school however pronounced the king to be adandya or above punishment. If he broke the law, the punishment was left to God. In extreme cases extra-constitutional remedies like the rebellion or regicide were suggested ; but they were usually impracticable. Village councils and town corporations often enjoyed almost complete freedom in their local affairs ; the courts, whether royal or popular, usually administered the traditional law as embodied in the jatidharama (cast rules), srenidharama (local customs). But a wilful king could set all these at nought and rule in a tyrannical way, as is shown by the pages of the Rajatarangini dealing with the history of medieval Kashmir. From C. 400 A. D. the sovereignty was vested in the king and it was not controlled by constitutional checks of the modern types. Of course it should not be forgotten that most of these checks were evolved in Europe only in the post-Reformation period.
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> Manu no doubt pronounces that a king was to pay a fine of a thousand coins when an ordinary man had to pay that of one coin only ; but he does not specify the offence, nor indicate the agency which was to try the king. The commentator Kulluka says that the fine was to be self-imposed and was to be given to Brahmanas or to be thrown into water in the name of Varuna. It is thus clear that Manu's statement is a merely idealistic one and hardly provides any real and practicable constitutional check."

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, although the state or the monarchy believed in religion, yet it was not a theocratic state as the Vatican kingdom. Ancient Indian polity has been influenced by religion, but the state was not theocratic.
2. Doctrine of karma, moral order and other high ideals did influence the working of the state or the king.
3. King in ancient India was regarded as a divine guardian.
4. Philosophy of *Vedant* and the principle of Aparigraha did influence the working of the state.
5. Functions of the state were, therefore, influenced by these principles.

6. Modern political thinkers categorize the functions of the state on the basis of the two theories :—

(*a*) Individualistic theory ; and

(*b*) Socialist theory.

7. Advocates of the individualistic theory believe in having the least interference of the state in the life of the individual. On the other hand, the advocates of the socialist theory believe that the state should assume maximum possible responsibilities about the life of the society.

8. Functions of the state are of two kinds :—

(*a*) Constituent or compulsory functions ; and

(*b*) Ministrant or voluntary functions.

9. Defence, peace and order etc. are constituent functions while education, sanitation, trade development etc. are ministrant functions.

10. In ancient India, specially in the Vedic period, state was responsible for constituent functions only. It had very limited number of ministrant functions.

11. Between Vedic period and the Mauryan period there was expansion of the functions of the state. The state assumed greater responsibilities during this period.

12. According to Mahabharat, following are the three categories of the functions of the state :—

(*a*) Social functions ;

(*b*) Economic functions ; and

(*c*) Religious functions.

13. In ancient India we find that there is co-existence of individual liberty and social welfare.

14. In ancient India there was distribution of functions in the following categories as well :—

(*a*) Legislative ;

(*b*) Executive ; and

(*c*) Judicial.

15. The state confined itself to executive functions mostly but it also did discharge legislative as well as judicial functions.

16. Sovereignty and functions are inter-linked and in ancient India the king was the sovereign. The king in those days was considered to be the source of all power.

CHAPTER VII

KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Discuss the various views in regard to kingship in ancient India ?

Or

Q. Define the theory of divine origin of kingship and discuss other points connected with it ?

Ans. King or kingship—In ancient India king was synonymous of the state. Normally a monarch or a king or Rajan used to be the symbol of the state in those days. The institution of king or kingship was considered to be over and above the normal requirements of the society. He was supposed to please people and maintain good government. *King* or '*Rajan*' of ancient India India has been defined by *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal* in the following words :—

> "The word Rajan and its origin Raj literally mean a ruler. It is connected with the Latin rex. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic derivation. King is called Raja because his duty is 'to please' (ranj) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axion, throughout Sanskrit literature. The kings also acquiesced in and accepted this constitutional interpretation of the term. Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga, who was a Jaina, says in his inscription (C. 170 B. C) that he did pleased his subjects, thirty-five hundied thousand in number. In the Buddhist Canon the same theoretic definition is found ; dammena pare ranjetiti kho, Vasettha, raja. Both orthodox and heterodox branches of the race had adopted it. It was a national interpretation and a national theory of constitution".[21]

Monarchy and kingship—In ancient India, monarchy and kingship were one and the same. *Monarchy* was 'the earliest from of organised government'. This contention of Megasthenes has been supported by Rigvedas as well. Republics in ancient India were very few and they were in many respects not very different from monarchy.

Origin of kingship—Today it is assumed that in ancient India the theory of *divine origin of kings* was very much prevalent. It was believed that king was the representative of the God and he came into being as a result of the wish of the God. In this connection it is interesting to find that this theory of divine origin was not known up to the time of the Vedic period. This theory is, in fact, a product of the post-Vedic thinking. There was also the element of election in those days.

Kingship—a result of war—According to Vedic literature, there was a war between demons (daityas) and gods (devas). Gods were defeated at the hand of the demons and so they sat down to analyse the cause of their defeat. They came to the conclusion that they lost because they did not have a king and so they made *Soma* their king and after that they achieved victory.

At other place it is said that Indra was made the king and at the third place it is said that Prajapati gave Varuna a supreme power and so he was made the king. All these anecdotes go to strenghthen the theory that kingship in India came as a result of war. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "The above parables indicates clearly that the Ancient Indians believed that the kingship arose out of a military, necessity, and that a king must be a capable general whose leadership is acknowledged by all. Success in war becomes easy only if the leader of the nation possesses strength, vigour, wisdom and energy."[22]

Patriarchal atmosphere gave birth to kingship—From the Vedic literature we gather that in those days there was patriarchal system in the society. Several culas lived in a community which was known as Jana or Visas. Out of the heads of the Visas a Janapati was elected. Invariably the strongest person was elected as Janapati. Ultimately, the institution of kingship came into being. This all goes to prove that the theory prevalent in India is that kingship came into being as a result of war.

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[21] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity.'

[22] A. S. Altekar—'The State and Government in Ancient India',

Social contract theory—From the writings of *Brahmans,* we come to the conclusion that the state in ancient India came into being as a result of social contract. They had to evolve this institution, may be to meet the necessity of the war. The description is found in 'Aitraiya Brahmana.'

Divine origin theory There is also written in Brahmana literature and other literatures that the king came into being as a result of the wish of the God. This is to be found in Buddha and Jain literature as well. In ancient Indian literature king has been described as the representative of God. He is supposed to take instructions from God and also to carry out those instructions.

Element of election—From the ancient Indian literature we come to the conclusion that there was the element of election in the creation of kingship. Manu also upholds this theory. He has laid down that king was elected and was paid a portion of the grain as his wages. The same thing has been put forward by Kautilya in his Arthasastra. It has also been laid down there that people can rise in rebellion against a king who did not discharge his duties properly.

Divinity of the king—Manu has laid down that the king although he may look like a human-being, should not be treated as a human being. In him there is the '*element of divinity,*' In *Shantiparva of Mahabharat* it has been laid down that, "*who is there that will not worship him (king) in whose existence the people exist and in whose destruction the people are destroyed? That man who even thinks of doing an injury to the king, without doubt, meets with grief and fear and goes to hell hereafter. No one should disregard the king by taking him as a man for he is really a high divinity in human form.*" The same thing has been laid down in Manu Smriti. The following lines from *Dr. Bhandarkar's* 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity', confirm this point further :—

> "Perhaps one step further in this direction is represented by the theory propounded by Manu. Manu adopts practically the view which Brihaspati enunciates to Vasumanas, and, in fact, one of the verses contained in the letter, we have seen, is found in the Manu-Smriti also, with a slight change. That verse, so far as the latter work is concerned, is as follows : "A king, though an infant, must not be despised, because he looks a human being ; verily, he is a great deity in human form." How the king is looked upon as a deity is explained by Manu almost in the same manner as Brihaspati has done. "Through his (supernatural) powers," says Manu, "he is Fire and Wind, he, Sun and Moon, he Yama, he, Varuna, he, great Indra. Fire burns one man only, if he carelessly approaches it ; the fire of a king's (anger) consumes the (whole) family, together with its cattle and its hoard of property. He, in whose favour resides Padma, the goddess of fortune, in whose valour dwells victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the luster of all (gods). The (man), who in his exceeding folly, hates him, will doubtless perish ; for the king quickly makes up his mind to destroy such (a man)."

Dr. Bhandarkar further says :—

> "It is thus clear that this view of Manu is practically identical with that of Brihaspati. But he adds just a new point to it. As there was no king, says Manu, creatures dispersed in all directions, and for their protection the Supreme Lord created a king, taking for that purpose the eternal particles of Indra, Wind, Yama, the Sun, Fire, Varuna, the Moon, and Kubera, who are all except one the Regents of the Quarters. And further, Manu tells us, just because a king has been formed of the particles of these gods, he surpasses all created beings in lustre and nobody on earth can gaze on him. This is a new feature which we find

added by Manu apparently to Brihaspati's theory of the origin of kingship. According to the latter the king is not only a deity but also a creation of the Supreme God. For the first time therefore we find a trace of the real divine origin of kingship similar to that propounded by the Western thinkers."

Developed theory of divinity of kingship—In ancient Indian literature, the king has not been recognised only as the representative of God or born out of divine force They have further stated that the king was not only an institution of divine origin, but it also possessed certain divine qualities. God seeing men going astray, created this new institution on the request of the gods. This is well evident from the following lines :—

> "The gods then approached Vishnu, the lord of creation (prajapati), and said unto him—"Indicate, O god, that one among mortals who deserves to have superiority over the rest." The god Narayana created, by a fiat of his will, a son born of his tejas or lustre, named Virajas. It was, however, the seventh descendant from Vishnu who was crowned king. He was created out of the right arm of Vena, who had been killed by the angry sages for his tyranny. And he was enjoined by the gods and the great sages to take the following oath : 'I will, in thought, word, and deed, always protect the Brahman which is on earth. I will fearlessly maintain the law in accordance with Dandaniti. I will never act with caprice. Brahmans are not fit to be chastised by me. And I will protect the world from an intermixture of caste."[23]

We are further told that '*Vishnu*', the Almighty God, himself entered the body of Prithu, the first king in this world. The following lines of Narada Smriti have something similar to say :—

'राजनि् प्रहरेद्यस्तु कुताणस्यषि दुर्मतिः ।
भूले तमग्नौ विपचेद ब्रह्महत्या शताधिरम ॥"

Q. Write short notes on the following :—

1. **Coronation of the king.**
2. **Time-table of the king.**
3. **Royal succession.**
4. **The element of election in kingship.**
5. **King as a trustee or public servant.**
6. **Kingship in different ages of ancient Indian Polity.**

Coronation of the king – In ancient India, when a person was enthroned as king, the coronation ceremony was performed. This ceremony marked the beginning of the kingship of the person. In fact, this ceremony bestowed upon the king the constitutional right to rule over the land.

The '*coronation ceremony*' was called '*Rajasuya*'. It had three parts :—

(*a*) Preliminary rituals ;
(*b*) The coronation ; and
(*c*) Post-coronation ceremonies.

Preliminary rituals involved the visit of the king to the houses of his ministers and other high officials. It meant that he sought the approval of the ruling class of people to his coronation. It had a psychological importance as well. It created attachment for the king in the hearts of the ministers,

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[23] D. R. Bhandarkar—'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu-Polity,'

The coronation took place a day after this pre-coronation ceremony. On this day the king was anointed and sprinkled with sacred water. It involved the following ceremonies :—

Sprinkling ceremony—It was meant to instil in the king certain virtues that were necessary for his office.

Protector of law—According to Shatpath Brahmana, the whole ceremony was intended to make the king the protector of the law. In other words, it means that the king was enjoined with a duty of protecting the law.

Collection of Water—In those days sacred water was collected from sea and other reservoirs of the land. This water was used for anointing the king. While anointing was done, certain mantras were pronounced. This collection of water had symbolic importance. It was indicative of the fact that the king ruled over all the places from where the water was actually collected. The description of all this is found in Taitriya Brahmana and Shatpath Brahmana. While doing all this, the God was also invoked.

Consecration or Abhishaichana—It followed the sprinkling of the holy water. It was, in fact, a part of anointing. According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the following :—

> "A tiger skin is spread in front of Mitra Varuna's hearth and the king elect steps upon it. Four men, one after another sprinkle him—a Brahmana, a kinsman of the king elect, a Rajanya, and a Vaish, which literally means 'one of the people'......
>
> The king elect then puts on a silk underwear, a mantle and a turban or diadem. Our Shatpath Brahmana does not approve of the dressing, and there is that artistic touch in the reason given which was common to the Hindus and the Greeks. "For the limbs being his natural vestments they deprive him of his native bodily form."[24]

Investiture and Announcement—After this came the investiture and announcement. It was done along with the pronouncement of the mantras. Announcement was done in the following form :—

> "Informed are yea man ! Informed is the house—Agni ! Informed is the far famed Indra ! Informed are mitra and Varuna, the upholders of vow ! Informed is Pushan (the lord of wealth) ! Informed are Heaven and earth, all beneficial ! Informed is Aditi, of great shelter."[25]

Oath-taking—The king, before the coronation, was expected to take oath, he bound himself not to do harm to the priest in view of the sacred powers, which he was invoking at the time of the coronation for the prosperity and the safety of the king.

State-drive and Darbar—After coronation, the king went out for a state-drive, either in a chariot or on an elephant. On his return, he held a darbar on which representatives of different classes of the society were invited. Then other festivities followed.

Coronation of the king in different ages—This coronation ceremony had different rituals attached to it in different periods of the history of ancient India. In the following lines an attempt shall be made to review the coronation ceremony in different ages.

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24. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.
25. "अविमर्य्या अवित्तो अग्निगृंहपतिरावित्त इन्द्रोवृद्ध श्रवा अवित्तो मित्रावरुणो"
Vajasaneyi Somhita.

Coronation ceremony during Brahmana period—It was considered to be a sacred ceremony. It had some symbolic and constitutional as well. The king was expected to take an oath and promise to do good to the society. Description of all this is to be found in Taitriya Brahmanan and Aitraiya Brahmana.

After oath or swearing in ceremony, the king ascended the throne. If we look at this ceremony, we find that it had a lot of similarity with the modern swearing in of the democratically elected representatives of the people.

Protector of the people—At the time of coronation, representatives of the people promised to protect the king who, in return, promised to protect the people.

Besprinkling by the priest—Before the king ascended the throne, he was besprinkled by the holy water over him by the priest. While the priest did it, he pronounced mantras which invoked God to grant prosperity, strength and might to the king.

King—taxation and Brahmans—Although the king was the ruler of all the people, yet he kept Brahmanas free from taxation. This is what we find in the Dharma Sastra of Vashishta and also in the works referred to by Mahabharat.

Sovereignty—King was the sovereign. All the powers vested in him. At the time of the coronation, he was endowed with the royal authority. While this investitute was done, certain mantras were pronounced

Post-Abhishaik ceremony—After the coronation of the king, certain ceremonies were performed. These ceremonies had a symbolical and constitutional importance. They also indicated that law was supreme.

Homage—After the coronation, the king was paid homage by the representatives of different classes of the society, including Brahmanas. Invariably this homage was preceded by the homage of the king to the land and earth. This means that while other people paid homage to the king and recognised his superiority, the king recognised the superiority of the land.

Game of Dice—After coronation, the game of dice was also played. Ratnins or the ministers joined in this game. It symbolized that there is pathos intermingled with duties.

Element of election and hereditary succession not established—During this period, the hereditary succession had not been established as a practice. The king was invariably an elected person. He was elected to that post in view of his physical strength, moral integrity and personality.

Deposition of the king—In those days, the king could be deposed if he did not discharge the duties properly. This fact also strengthens the thinking that kingship in the Vedic period was elective and not hereditary.

Coronation in latter times—With the passage of the time, the rituals involved in the coronation changed. They changed in certain respects while they remained the same in some respects.

Vedic in spirit but changed in certain other respects—The constitutional principles that were involved in the coronation, remained the same even after the Vedic period but certain changes took place in other respects. This change can well be gathered from the text of Mahabharat. Even in latter times, the king was consecrated and also offered presents in form of homage.

Coronation oath—The oath that was administered to the king later on also did not change very much from the Vedic text. This basic character of the oath still remained there.

Details of coronation of the latter period available from the description of Mahabharat. In Mahabharat we find the detailed description of the coronation ceremony that was invoked in the post-Vedio period. It also involved some change in the oath, although the spirit remained the same.

Importance of land– Even in the post-Vedic period the highest importance was given to the land which the king was asked to rule.

Coronation oath in the middle ages and latter times—The oath did changes in the middle ages and latter times. The procedure also changed. Now, instead of having pre-coronation ceremonies and post-coronation ceremonies, only one ceremony of the coronation was held and it combined all the three.

Element of heredity— With the passage of time, the element of election in kingship disappeared. Heredity took its place. In the latter period, the king was not elected but he was enthroned, because he was son of or kinsman of the king.

Age of coronation—Normally a person was enthroned as a king after the completion of 24th year.

Observance of coronation laws– Laws accompanying coronation had constitutional significance and importance. They were strictly followed. An attempt was made to make the ceremony as constitutional and sacrimental as it could be.

TIME-TABLE OF THE KING

Q. Describe briefly the main functions of the king in ancient India ?

Or

Q. What was the king's daily routine according to Arthashastra ? What measures were prescribed for his protection ?

Ans. Functions of the king and the time-table—Every individual has to plan his life according to the functions which he is expected to discharge. If a person has to look after administrative job, he had to apportion his daily life in that manner. The time-table of the king in ancient India was fixed in accordance with the functions that he had to discharge.

Functions of the king—King was the leader of the society. We have already seen that in Vedic period he was elected because of his personality and integrity. He had to lead the society and protect people. He was given wealth by the people for discharge of his duties successfully. Since he was expected to rule the people in the most benevolent manner, people prayed for his eternal and perennial rule. Normally, king in those days was expected to discharge the following functions :—

1. Protect people and bring about their welfare.
2. Bring about the development of agriculture, industry and other means of production of the society.
3. Welfare of the people.
4. Protection of dharma.
5. Following a life of discipline and curbing indiscipline in the society.
6. Bring about the material welfare of the people.

Mention of all these things we find in Mahabharat and other sacred books of those days.

Advisers to the kings—In those days the king was advised by two institutions :—

(*a*) Samiti or Parliament ; and

(*b*) Sabha or the cabinet of the ministers.

Sabha also conducted the job of the judiciary.

Functions and duties of the king according to Arthasastra—Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid down the following as the functions and duties of the king :—

1. Welfare of the people and punishing the evil doers.
2. Acting as an ideal before his subjects, so that he may inculcate in them the ideals that are good for the welfare of the society.
3. Lead a disciplined life.
4. Try to bring about his intellectual development by coming in contact with intellectuals and learned people.
5. Bring about all side development of the society.

Duties of the king according to Sukra Niti—Sukra Niti has also laid down certain duties of the king.

They are enumerated below :—

1. The king shall not try to take only the wealth of his subjects.
2. He shall act in an impartial and honest manner.
3. He shall also protect his subjects from evil-doers.
4. Organisation of Rajsuya Yajyas.
5. Taking help from his ministers and other advisers.
6. Bringing about the destruction of his enemies.
7. **Check over the powers of the king**—In Vedic literature and other sacred books, we find the provision for checks on the functions of the king. In the words, it means that the king was kept under check, lest he became a dictator. Although he was regarded as the representative of God, yet he had to live under certain restrictions.

The king could not disregard the advice of his ministers and the members of the cabinent. Coronation and its rituals were an ample check on the king. This is what we find in the following lines of Prof. Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' :—

> "The king was no doubt divine, but the established laws and customs were still more so. The king was required to take a vow at his coronation that he scrupulously respected them. He had no power to change them at his sweet will."

Voice of the people—In ancient India the voice of the people was a great check on the king. If a king degenerated into a tyrant, he could be killed by the people. The king was expected to rule according to the provisions of dharma. This is what we find in the following lines of Prof. Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' :—

> "The recognition of the subjects' right to depose or kill a tyrant no doubt shows that Ancient Indians regarded sovereignty as ultimately residing in people. It could, however, be exercised only by a popular uprising and not through any peaceful means. It was thus not a constitutional but rather an extra-constitutional right. It was a remedy very difficult to adopt."

It is based on the following lines of *Sukra Niti* :—

"अधर्मशीलो नृपतिर्यदा तं भीष येज्जन : ।
धर्मशीलाति बवल दियोराश्रयतः सदा ॥"

Decentralization in administration—In ancient India we find that there was decentralization of administration. It also exercised a check on the unfettered powers of the king. The following lines from Prof. Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India' point out this very fact :—

> "Government in ancient India eventually rule the people and discharge their functions mainly through these bodies, and the representatives of the people had a decisive voice in them. King may impose any number of taxes ; eventually those only could be realised which the village councils could agree to collect. The local bodies were also discharging judicial functions and that removed a powerful engine of operation from the control of the king. They had also a prescriptive right to a fair percentage of the land tax and other revenues collected in their jurisdiction ....The village committees and town councils to a great extent resembled small republics, where the voice of the people prevailed".

Time-Table of the King—In Arthasastra, Kautilya has laid down the time-table of the King. The time-table is determined according to the functions that a person is expected to perform. Since the main job of the king in ancient India was to protect his subjects, his time-table was regulated accordingly. If the king discharged his duties faithfully, his officers were also expected to act accordingly. If the king, on the other hand, was weak and wicked, he was sure to destroy the entire structure of the administration. This is what we find mention in the following lines :—

> "The ideals of Hindu state were very high. Its weak point was the despotic character of the hereditary monarchy. Sooner or later, the sceptre was bound to fall into incapable, wicked or oppressive hands..................... The Hindu monarchy was like other despotism and was attempted by assassination and insurrection."[26]

The king had to be alert all the time so that he could bring about the progress of the state and the government.

Kautilya has laid down that the king, in order to be successful in the discharge of his duties, should lay down a time-table of his life. This time-table should be in accordance with the distribution of different functions that he was expected to discharge. *Kautilya* has further said that the king should divide the period of twenty-four hours of the day into eight parts. In the morning, the first part of the day, the king should think of devising ways and means to protect his subjects. This was the time when the king was expected to do his accounting or know the position of the income and the expenditure.

In the second part of the day, the king was expected to look after the work of the capital and other responsible persons.

In the *third part* of the day, he was expected to take bath, have his lunch and carry out his study, so that he may be up-to-date about the problem of the society.

In the fourth part of the day, he was expected to look after the appointment of the Heads of the Department and collection of revenue etc.

In the fifth part of the day, he was supposed to look after the Intelligence Department and correspondence with the members of his cabinet.

In the sixth part of the day, he was expected to have his recreation, so that 'all work and no play', may not make the king a dull person.

In the seventh part of the day, he was expected to look after his army, so that it remained perfectly in order and up-to-date.

In the eighth part of the day, he was expected to confer with the Commander-in-Chief and plain the strategy of likely war and divise ways and means for the expansion of his territory.

Distribution of the day into different parts—The day for the king was divided in the following manner :—

1. From *6·00 A. M. to 7·30 A. M.* was the first part of the day when the king was expected to devise ways and means for the protection of his subjects and have an eye on the income and the expenditure.

2. From *7·30 A. M. to 9·00 A. M.* This was the second part of the day when the king was expected to look after the work of different people in regard to the state or nation.

3. Form *9 00 A. M.* began the third part of the day that continued *up to 10·30 A. M.* This part of the day was meant for bath, lunch and study of the king

4. The fourth part of the day began at *10·30 A. M.* and continued *up to 12·00 noon.* During this period the king was expected to look after the job of appointment of different Heads of Department and other jobs conducted with this.

5. From *12 noon to 1·30 P. M.*, i. e., during the fifth part of the day, the king was expected to look after the correspondence with the members of the cabinet and the Intelligence Department.

6. From *1·30 P. M.* began the sixth part of the day which lasted *up to 3·00 P. M.* This part of the day was meant for recreation of the king.

7. From *3·00 P. M. to 4·30 P. M.* he was expected to have an inspection of the army. This was the seventh part of the day.

8. From *4·30 P. M. to 6·00 P. M.* the king was expected to confer with the Commander-in-Chief and draw plans about was etc. This war the eighth part of the day.

Time-table of the night—Kautilya has in his Arthasastra divided the night also into eight parts.

The first part of the night has been apportioned for talks with the people of the Intelligence Department.

In the *second part of the* night, the king was expected to have bath, food and carry out his study.

The *third part of the* night was meant for his personal life. He was expected to devote this time with the ladies of the house-hold.

The *fourth and the fifth* parts of the night were meant for rest and sleep.

The *fifth part of the* night was meant for the study of the armies and determination of the duties to be performed by the king.

In the *sixth part of the* night, the king was expected to carry out secret conversation and depute men of the Intelligence Department to their various assignments.

The *seventh part of the* night was meant for religious duties.

Kautilya has laid down that the king should divide his whole programme according to his capacity and energy. He has further laid down that the king was expected to be busy for all the twenty-four hours. He could not lead the life of pleasure and rest only.

Security of the king—King in ancient India was the sovereign. Although the sovereignty flowed from people, yet it vested in the king alone and so it was considered to be the bounden duty of the people and the officials to protect the person of the king in the best possible manner. It was also expeeted that if the person of king was safeguarded, the entire working of the administration shall be properly looked after.

Kautilya in his '*Arthasastra*' has laid great stress on the security and the protection of the person of the king. He has given first place to the security and the protection of the palace in which the king lived. Since the king had to spend most of his time in his palace, it was the duty of all concerned to protect the palace with the maximum strength and energy. He has laid down that within the palace there should be ladies knowing the use of the arms for the protection of the king. While in the palace, he should be provided protection by these ladies.

Once the king came out of his bed room, he was expected to be taken care of by the eunuchs, who were specially appointed for the administration of the palace.

In the *third room,* which was meant for person and other things, the king was expected to be looked after and given safety by dwarves and other persons appointed for the purpose.

In the room meant for meeting with the ministers and other high officials, the king was protected by the Defence Minister, relatives of the king and other military officers appointed for the purpose. Kautilya has also laid down that the king should not go to the room of the queen but should call her to his own room.

There was also provision for the bodyguards of the king as we find in the modern set-up. Today if the President of India moves about, there are bodyguards and shadows. So was the case in ancient time also. These persons always followed the king even at the nearest distance. Only such persons who had been loyal to the country for several generations were given almost all this place, and they were also very highly paid. No foreigner could be appointed on this place. Kautilya has also laid down that while taking part in a function or going on a journey, the king should be guarded by at least ten bodyguards.

The king was also expected to put on clothes that provide him security against or attempt on his person.

Poisoning and protection against it—In those days the poison was the most effective method of killing. Kautilya has given an elaborate description about poisoning, and ways and means to protect against such a thing. He has also given a description of the person who attempts or tries to poison the king. The following lines from Arthasastra give the description of a person who attempts to administer poison :—

> "विषप्रद स्पतु शुष्कश्यावक्तता वाक् सन्ड: स्वेदि
> किजृम्मणं चातिभामं वेपयु: प्रस्खलंन ब्रह्म
> विप्रेक्षाणमावेग: स्वकर्माणी स्वभूमी चानवस्थान
> मिति ।"

These laws indicate that a person who attempts at poisoning loses the colour of the face, stammers while speaking and there is blackish shed on his face.

Protection during bath and dressing up—In ancient India, the king was given ample protection while bathing and dressing up. There were persons, mostly ladies, appointed for the purpose. Strict watch was kept even on these ladies who were expected to look after the personal convenience of the king. Anything that was brought from outside was properly examined.

Protection against food poisoning—There was a person specially appointed for cooking the food of the king. He used to be a very trusted person. It has also been provided in the '*Arthasastra*' that the king before taking his food should put a part of it in the fire. This would give an idea that the food was not mixed with poison because food mixed with poison amits blew flame and smoke. Kautilya has also given a detailed description of different varieties of poison.

Certain other precautions—Kautilya has also provided for certain other precautions. He has said that the king should not be made to watch the demonstration by dancers and other acrobats. He has also said that the elephants, the chariots and the horses meant for personal use of the king should be kept within the palace. He has also laid down that before the king used any conveyance someone very must trusted must use it first. He has also prohibited king from joining the crowds of the people. He has further stated that the king should not have one bed room. . It should be changed from time to time. He has gone to the extent of saying that the king should not meet a saint without his armed bodyguards. All this formed part of the time-table of the king.

Royal succession—Originally in the Vedic literature kingship was an elective institution. The practice of hereditary succession come in yoke in the latter period. After Vedic period kingship became a hereditary affair. Son of the monarch would invariably sit on the throne.

According *to Hindu law*, the property of the father is divisible amongs the brothers but this was not to be applied in case of a monarch. This ban was imposed on account of a special consideration. It was felt that if the property of the king was divided amongst brothers, it would lead to weakening of the state. The crown, therefore, passed on to the eldest son, who was appointed Yuvaraja earlier. A reference to this is found in the history as well as other works that serve as sources of history of ancient India. The following lines of Sukra Niti clarify this point further :—

"राज्यविभजनाच्छ्रयो भूपानां न भवेत्खलु ।
अल्पीकृतं विभागेन राज्यं शगुर्जिधृक्षति ।।"

Status of other brothers—Although the eldest son was made the ruler, yet his younger brothers were not shown any disregard. They were appointed on responsible posts like governors of different provinces. These brothers were normally treated as a degree less than the king.

When was the eldest son not made the king ?—There are instances in history and other scriptures that the eldest son was not made the monarch. It was done only when the eldest son was mis-fit to rule. There are also instances when younger brothers tried to wrest crown from their elder brother.

Training of the heir-apparent—Although in ancient Indian polity, the king has been treated as a divine personality, yet he was expected to undergo a trainging. This was more than necessary for a king to be. Special institutions were set up to impart training to the princes. Centres of education, like Taxila also had special institutions and special training courses for the princes. In the beginning, these princes were expected to learn Vedas and philosophy but, later on, it came to be realised that they should be taught more of Economics and Politics than the Philosophy.

Normal curriculum for the training of the princes—Princes were expected to acquire the training of the following :—

(*a*) Theoretical knowledge of Politics and Economics.
(*b*) Practical education and training in administration and military art.
(*c*) Horsemanship and wielding of arms.
(*d*) Bowmanship and archery.

An heir-apparent used to be appointed only when he had undergone the requisite training and acquired qualities of a competent king.

In South Indian Polity great importance has been laid on the institutions of the 'Regent'. Yuvaraja or the heir-apparent was given all respect and importance. Normally a Regent or an heir-apparent was appointed as soon as it was felt necessary.

Regency Council—In ancient Indian polity, there is also mention of *'Council of Regency.'* If the monarch died, leaving his regent minor, the work of the state would be carried by a Council of Regency. Sometimes the matter of the regent would preside over the Council of Regency.

No succession to daughters—In ancient Indian polity there is no mention of a claim of succession being given to the daughter. Even if a monarch died, leaving behind a daughter as the sole successor, then her husband would be appointed to succeed the kingdom of his father-in-law. In such cases the monarch's daughter was treated as 'Regent Queen'. There are very few instances when the king ruled along with the queen jointly.

Status of the queen—Queen has not been accorded any administrative status in Vedic literature. No doubt queens influenced the administration by their intelligence and personality. Unfortunately, *Hindu polity* does not recognise any constitutional status for the queen, but the queens and the princess were imparted administrative and military training.

The element of election in kingship—There has been a lot of debate about the character of the kingship in ancient India. Some of the writers of ancient Indian polity have said that kingship in ancient India was elective while others say that it was hereditary.

There cannot by any difference of opinion about the kingship being elective in early Vedic period. The following line of Rigveda provides this point beyond doubt :

"तई विशो न न राजानं वृणाना बीभत्सवो अप वृत्रादतिष्ठन् ।"

Even in *latter Vedic literature*, we find that a person could be appointed a king only if his leadership was accepted by others. The prayer that was made at the time of the coronation also upholds this point. He used to be elected out of the Kulapatis and Vispatis. What was the character of the election of the king is clear from the following lines :—

> "It is, therefore, very likely that *not the* whole population but its leaders like the Kulapatis and the Vispatis had a voice in the election of the king ; people in general, like the curiae in Rome, may at the utmost have ratified the choice of the Vispati. The cases of election were, however, the exception rather than the rule ; the usual tendency was to accept the leadership of the senior-most member of the senior-most family and formally elect him as the king."

Elective not in the modern sense of the term—This institution of kingship in the Vedic period was not elective in the modern sense of the term. There was element of election no doubt, as is evident from the passages of the Vedic literature. This election also started getting antiquoted even in the early Vedic period.

Election to heredity—Very soon the institution of kingship passed on from election to heredity. Even passages from Rigveda prove this point. In Purus it was so right in the early Vedic period. This can be further seen from the following lines :—

"This is thus no doubt that monarchy had become normally hereditary long before the later Vedic period. The arguments advanced to show that it continued to be elective in some states down to even the 8th century A. D. are hardly convincing. The rajakrits mentioned in the Atharvaveda (III. 6 7) and rajakartarah referred to in the Ramayana (II. 67.2) are not king-electors but the Brahmanas, who were entrusted with the duty offering the coronation ablutions to the king. When kings Pratipa and Yayati offer the crown to their younger sons Santanu and Puru respectively, setting aside the claims of the elder brothers, people assemble before the palace and call for an explanation. This does not, however, lend any support to the view that they had a voice in the selection of their king. In each case they had a voice in the selection of their king. In each case they simply want to know why the claims of the eldest son, supported by the law of primogeniture, have been set aside, and they return home quite satisfied when a proper explanation is offered by the reigning king. Both the incidents clearly show, not that the people had any voice in the election of the king, but that they had accepted primogeniture as the normal law for the succession to the throne. The chapters in the Ramayana referring to the proposed installation of Rama to the post of the heir-aparent (II. 1-2) do not also lend colour to the view that people had any voice in the matter. Dasaratha had summoned for the occasion not the notable citizens of his kingdom but his important feudatories and neighbouring monarchs. They approved of the choice of Rama as a mere formality ; that their consent had no practical value would become quite clear from the circumstance that it could not prevent the banishment of Rama to the forest. The genealogy of the Ikshvaku family shows that for several generations both before and after the reign of Rama, the crown was passing hereditarily that people had no power to elect the king.[27]

Election as a mark of respect to the qualities of the king—In fact, even in the Vedic period, a person used to be elected as a king only as a mark of respect for his intellect and prowess. Nowhere was a person elected a king only on account of his having secured the highest number of votes. Even the cases of Rudradamana (130 A. D.), Harsha Vardhana (606 A. D.) and Gopala (750 A. D.), go to prove the point that they succeeded to the throne on account of their capability and prowess. In the books of those days, it is said that they were elected by the people but this election was only a display of approval of their qualities.

The throne used to be secured only by heredity. It had no element of election as a practice or procedure. This is what we find from the following lines :—

> "The crown used to pass hereditarily in his family and none of his successors cares to profess that he owed his people's votes."[28]

King as a trustee or a public or a public servant—In ancient India there was a notion about the kingship as a trust. The king was expected to use the treasury not as his personal property, but as the property of the people given to him as a trust. If any king used the treasury for his personal ends, he would go to hell. This is what we find in the following lines of Dharma Sutra :—

"बलंप्रजारक्षणार्थं धर्मार्थं कोषसंग्रहः ।
परत्रेह च सुखदो नृपस्यान्यस्तु दुःखद ॥
स्त्रीपुत्रार्थं कृतो यस्च स्वोपभोगाय केवलम् ।
नरकायैव स ज्ञयो न परत्र सुखप्रदः ॥"

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[27] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

[28] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

King was more than a trustee—In ancient India, according to some of the political thinkers, the king was more than a trustee. He was expected not only to carry out the duties as a trustee but was expected to *'make any-self-sacrifice for promoting the interest of his trust.'* This has nicely been summed up in the following lines :—

> "Just as an expectant mother sacrifices her own desires and pleasures, least they should be harmful to the child to be born, the king must sacrifice his own conveniences, inclinations and pleasures in order to be of the maximum help and service to his people The body of the king is not meant for the enjoyment of pleasures ; has to put up with great troubles and worries while carrying out the royal duty of protecting the subjects and fulfilling the dharma."

The above lines from *Professor A. S. Altekar's 'State and Government in Ancient India'* reflect the opinion of Kautilya put forward in his "*Arthasastra*"

King as a public servant—In the scriptures of ancient India, the king has been described as 'the servant of the people.' He was expected to carry out the duties as a public servant and earn only the 16 per cent of the tax as his wage. '*Kautilya*' in his '*Arthasastra*' had laid down that the king was like his own soldiers. He too received wages like them and had to make sacrifices for the sake of the country.

'*Narad*' has also laid down that the taxes that the people pay are in return of the protection provided by the king to his people. Since the king received salary or wages, he was expected to discharge his duties faithfully in the interest of the people. In '*Sukra Niti*' the king has been described as 'the master and the servant of the people' :—

> "स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।
> ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥"

Kingship in different ages of Indian history—The concept of kingship changed with the change in the socio economic conditions These conditions are reflected in different periods of the country in regard to the status of the king, We have already seen that in the early ages, the king was treated as a public servant. He was supposed to treat his kingdom as his trust. In return of his job, he received the wage by way of taxes. He could not utilise the entire revenue for his own benefits. He was master no doubt but he was also servant of the people. In '*Jatakas*' there is a story about a beautiful queen who wanted to have absolute power over her subjects. The king could not oblige her and told the following :—

> "My good lady, to me the inhabitants of the whole realm are no bodies ; I am not their master (they are their own masters). I am master only of those who offend against the rulers (laws) and do what is unlawful. For this reason I am unable to give you mastery and rule over the whole realm."

Constitutionally a servant but morally a master—Morally the king was the master. He ruled over his people and made them do what he wanted. But constitutionally he was only a servant. He was under no constitutional checks, in the modern sense of the term. But he could not go beyond the wishes of the '*popular assembly.*' The situation of the king before *500 B. C.* has nicely been summed up in the following lines :—

> "It must be admitted at the outset that no constitutional checks in the modern sense of the word were devised by our ancient thinkers. It is likely that the *Samiti* or the *Popular Assembly* of the Vedic age

functioned as a constitutional check upon the king ; there is no evidence to show that a king could hardly maintain his position, if this Assembly was not in agreement with him. The powers of the Popular Assembly however, declined as centuries rolled on ; it also disappeared from the scene by 500 B. C. ; and its place was not taken by any similar body."[29]

Religious and spiritual sanctions—In ancient India, religious and spiritual sanctions were more powerful than the political sanctions. Although the king had the divine element in him, yet the laws and the customs were more so.

The kings, before they sat on the throne, were given intensive training. High ideals were inculcated in them. All these things we find mentioned in Arthasastra. This training and inculcation of ideals provided ample check on the king's going astray.

Right of the people to revolt against tyrant—If the king became a tyrant, the people could revolt against him. It has been provided for in '*Mahabharat*'.

Decentralization of the powers—In ancient India, there were bodies responsible for administering the local affairs. The king could exercise his powers only through these bodies. These bodies were entrusted with the task of realising the taxes, etc, etc. All these things provided a check on the king.

The position of the state or the king in the *pre-Vedic* and *early Vedic times* was that of a senior-most member of the Council of Peers. If he did not prove himself worthy of the trust reposed in him, people could oust him.

In the *later Vedic period*, the institution of king acquired a lot of percentage pomp and prosperity. The king, as described in the Arthasastra, had the following qualities :—

> "The '*Atharva Veda*' describes the king as a lord of riches, the chief of the people and the most prominent among the warriors. It also prays that the king may have power, lustre and control over the nation. In one ritual, the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaish and the Sudra each loses a cow to the king ; this shows that the king's sway was being regarded as incompassing of the classes of the population. His power, therefore, was getting more extensive ; naturally his wrath was also being dreaded more and more."

Protector of the people and holder of law—In that period, the king was considered to be the protector of the people and the holder of law. The king was expected to protect people and uphold law and order. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "The king was pre-eminently the protector of his peoples both against internal disturbances and foreign invasions. He was the upholder of law and order, of customs and traditions. He presides over the court at the capital, which dealt with serious offences, though ordinary cases were disposed of by the Popular Council. He carried on the administration with the help of a number of officers like the generals (Senanis), Gramanis (village headmen), Kshatriyas, Sangrahitris and Sutras ; the precise function of the last three sons known at present."

The position of the king after 500 B. C.—After 500 B. C., when the Popular Assembly more or less disappeared with the disappearance of this institution, the king assumed more powers. There is also description of the kings who were '*self-built and tyrannical*'. They became effective head of the executive as well as the judiciary and the military. In short, it may be said that after this the kings carried out the administration of the state without bothering about the will of the people. It has been described in the following lines :—

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[29] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India',

> "During this period (500 B. C.) the king became the effective head of the executive administration ; there was no Popular Assembly like Samiti to check him. He controlled both the treasury and the military forces, though there were commander-in-chief and treasurer under him. Foreign polity and peace and war were largely determined by him. Ministers were selected by the king and held office during his pleasure. The king presided over the Council of Ministers and its decisions had to receive royal assent. Taxation was to a great extent determined by the customary law, but the king could increase or decrease its incidence. Theoretically the king had no legislative power, but he could supplement the provisions of the customary law by his own ordinances, obedience to which was obligatory."

This thing continued in smaller or greater degree even in the medieval period and till the existence of monarchy or kingship.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, kingship and state were synonymous. Kingship was nothing but monarchy. In ancient India king was considered to be the representative of God.

2. On the basis of the scriptures, it is gathered that in ancient India it was believed that kingship came into being as a result of war between the goods and the demons.

3. Patriarchical system of society also gave birth to kingship or monarchy. In Brahmana literature, it has been laid down that kingship came into being as a result of the contract between different sections of the society.

4. On the one hand, we find that the king was considered to be reprensentative of God, yet he was also elected.

5. Several authors have laid down that there was element of divinity in the kingship.

6. Before the king sat on the throne, a sacred ceremony called 'coronation' was performed. This ceremony had certain preceding events as well as succeeding ones.

7. Coronation was performed in different ages in different manners.

8. At the time of the coronation, the priest sprinkled holy water on the king. He was, thus, appointed as the protector of the people.

9. The king did not levy taxes on the Brahmanas.

10. Sovereignty in ancient India vested in the king.

11. After coronation, a *darbar* was held and representatives of different sections of the society paid their homage to the king.

12. In ancient India, kingship was hereditary, although there was element of election in it.

13. If a particular king did not discharge his duties faithfully, he could be deposed by people. The king in order to be able to discharged his duties faithfully, had to take an oath at the time of the coronation. This oath changed with the change in time, but essentially it remained the same.

14. King had to discharge different types of function. The functions were directed at the welfare of the people.

15. Different thinkers have laid down different duties of the king. Sukra and Chanakya in their books have laid down the duties of the king.

16. All these thinkers have talked about the check on the king. This check used to be in form of voice of the people.

17. In order to be able to discharge his duties nicely and faithfully, king had to apportion his time-table properly. He was expected to divide his day's work into different parts. He was expected to divided the day's work into eight parts.

18. Similarly, he was expected to divide his night into eight parts.

19. Security of the king was the responsibility of the people. Kautilya in his book 'Arthasastra' has laid down different ways about the security of the king. He has also held several people responsible for this job. He has also suggested ways and means for the security of the king.

20. In ancient India, a kingdom could not be divided into brothers. The eldest one used to succeed the throne of the father. Other brothers were entrusted with other responsible jobs.

21. In ancient India, there was programme for the training of the heir-apparent who used to be the eldest son of the king.

22. Since the coronation could not take place before a prescribed age, in event of the death of the king, a Council of Regency was used to be appointed to look after the task of the people.

23. Daughters could not succeed to the throne of their fathers. If a king did not have any other successors except a daughter, her husband used to succeed his father-in-law.

24. In ancient India kingship or monarchy was essentially hereditary.

25. There was element of election no doubt, but it was only in name.

26. The king in ancient India was considered to be a trustee and a public servant. He could not use the treasury for his personal ends. He, in fact, used it in the interest of the people and received only limited wages in return of the protection provided to the people.

27. The concept of kingship changed with the change in the socio-economic conditions of the country in different periods. Originally, he was fully a public servant but, with the passage of time, he acquired greater control over power and there are instances when kings became tyrants.

28. King in ancient India was constitutionally a public servant, but morally a master.

29. Originally people had the right to revolt against the tyrant, but this power in the latter period was seldom used.

30. Decentralization of power and spiritual sanctions did exercise a check on the king. These checks restrained him from becoming a tyrant.

31. Before 500 B. C., the king was actually the protector of the people and upholder of law. It was after 500 B. C., that he became the real master of the people.

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTERISTICS OF HINDU MONARCHY

Q. Explain the character of Hindu monarchy and discuss the place of monarch in Hindu Polity ?

Or

Q. Describe briefly the characteristic features of the monarchical form of government in ancient India and ideals associated with it ?

Ans. "His (king's) utility was very great. He saw to the transfer of the ministers and ministry and was the co-ordinating spirit in government. Propelled by his high sense of sacrifice, high traditions and high position, morally he stood far higher than the ministers and rule-makers.........even when he is powerless. He was the symbol of the state. He was the standard of sovereignty to rally loyalty and hold the realm together."

Hindu monarchy—We have already seen the state in ancient India, which was nothing but a monarchy, was very much influenced by religious values. 'Dharma' was considered to be superior even to the king. Duties and powers of the king drew their inspiration from dharma. Even in the days of Pristine glory of Hindu monarchy, dharma was considered to be superior to the monarch. In those days, administration of justice was separated from the executive powers of the king. Invariably the department of justice was under the leaders in the field of dharma or religion. King or the monarch was considered to be the protector of the religion. Although the justice was administered in the name of the king, yet it was considered superior to the king.

Characteristics of the Hindu monarchy—Hindu monarch in those days was constitutionally considered to be only a servant of the people. He was entrusted with the taste of protecting the people and upholding the law and order. Morally, he was a master, no doubt, but in practice he could not make his whims the law of the land.

Civil list—King could not be the sole master of his subjects. He could not exercise absolute authority over his subjects. He had a divine civil list under which he received a salary.

Utility—King was the co-ordinating factor between the working of the different organs of the state and the society. He also symbolized the state. In the words of *Acharya Sukra*, he was the root of the tree of the state :—

> "King is the root of the tree of state ; the Ministry is its trunk, the military chiefs are branches, the army are the leaves of the tree and the subjects are its flowers, prosperity of the country its fruits, and the whole country the final seed."[30]

Trust and public service—We have already seen in the preceding chapter that the state for the king was only a trust created for the prosperity of the people. The king could not go beyond the rule of a public servant. His main task was to protect the people and bringing about their welfare.

State essentially civil and not military—On the basis of the records about administration of the state in ancient India, we come to the conclusion that the state was essentially a civil state. Armies were there no doubt and in quite a large number, yet power never went into their hands. King, no doubt, as a head of the executive, was the head of the army, but in practice, he never exercised his power through army. On the other hand, the Commander-in-Chief also never became the king. The army was meant only for conquest of foreign lands and defence of the motherland. Militarism is not to be found in ancient Indian polity.

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[30] "राज्यवृक्षस्यं नृपतिर्मूलं स्कन्धाश्चमन्त्रिणः ।
शाखाः सेनाधिपाः सेनाः पल्लवाः कुसुमानि च ।
प्रजाः फलानि भूभाम्मबीजं भूमिः प्रकल्पिता ।।"

The rule of the law or dharma was the main guiding factor of the Hindu monarchy. This is what has been mentioned by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in the following words :—

> "On the other hand the most pronounced feature of Hindi monarchy, as have seen, was the paramount position of law in the polity. We have also noticed the prominent reference to law in the coronation oath of *Mahabharat*. The civil character of the Hindu monarchy is reflected in the stress laid on law."

Conquest and sense of justice—In ancient Indian polity, laws of war and conquests formed a part of the Civil Law. They were, in fact, one of the limbs of law. The law was essentially based on morality. If a particular monarch succeeded in conquering a particular state, invariably the affairs of the state would be re-entrusted to the conquered. It was done on the basis of the provisions of Manava Dharma Shastra. This fact is borne out by the following testimony of the earliest Mohammedan writer (1851 A. D.) :—

> "The wars they (Hindu monarchs) wage with the neighbouring princes are not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves with the adjoining dominions......When a prince makes himself master of some kingdom, he confers the government upon some persons of royal family."[31]

Greek writers have also found the same attitude in the Hindu monarchs. This is what we see in the following lines of Aryan drawn upon Magasthenese' records :—

> "Sense of justice, they (Hindus) say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India."

It was on account of the feeling of justice and the conquest that a mighty king like Chandra Gupta did not go beyond a certain limit. It is quite possible, had he desired, he might have conquered several countries of the world.

Longevity of Hindu states—Hindu states had a long life. This was only on account of the civil character of the state. Civil character checked internecene warefare. It is evident from the following lines from Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity' :—

> "To this civil and legal character of Hindu Polity, the sociological historian, on the venture to think, would mainly ascribe the extraordinary longevity of the Hindu state, and the absence of a deadly conflict between the people and the crown."

We find that in England, which too had a monarchy, it was not so. We hear about several bloody conflicts between the people and the crown.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Hindu monarch was essentially a public servant and trustee for the people. He was master of the subjects morally speaking, yet he could not exercise absolute powers. Constitutionally, he was servant of the people.

2. Indian state or monarchy was essentially civil in nature. There are very few instances when a commander-in-chief of the army became the king or the ruler.

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[31] 'Account of the merchants Sulaiman recorded by Abu Zaid'.

3. King had great utility for people. He was the co-ordinating agency between different organs of the state. He co-ordinated the activities of different ministers as well as the army. He was like the root of the tree.

4. Because of the civil nature of the state, Hindu states had long life.

5. Sense of justice prevented the kings from making unnecessary conquests. Most of the kings did not go beyond a set limit or the boundaries of India to make conquests. Even when they made conquests, they used to return the territories to some member of the royal families conquered.

CHAPTER IX

RAJ DHARMA

Q. Explain the concept of 'Raj Dharma'.

Or

Q. Explain the nature and significance of the concept of dharma in ancient Indian social and political life.

Ans. Concept of dharma – In ancient India, the state was not theocratic. It was essentially secular, although the working of the state was guided by dharma. Dharma in those days did not represent the narrow concept of dharma of today. In those days dharma was synonymous of the sum total of the rules and regulations about duties. We have also seen that dharma was considered to be superior even to the king. But it does not mean that protection of dharma involved repression of all others who did not belong to the particular religion followed by the king or the monarch. When we compare these conditions with those in England and other countries, we find that the story is quite different. In England all those persons who did not belong to the religion professed by a set or the monarch were subjected to all sorts of repression. One of the functions of the state included promotion of religion and morality and patronization of education. This does not have any indicative element in it.

Functions of the state and dharma—In Islamic states as well as Christian states, we find that propagation of the religion was considered to be one of the important functions of the state, the ruler or the monarch. But it was not so in regard to India. The constituents of the state or the elements of the state do not include religion. The functions of the state also do not include propagation of a particular religion. No doubt some of the kings like Ashoka did carry out the task of Buddhism, but it was only the action of certain individual rulers. It was not a part and parcel of the duties of the king. It does not, however, mean that the values of religion and morality were not to be upheld by the state or the monarch. Promotion of dharma was considered to be one of the important jobs of the state. The correct position in this regard has been explained by Prof. Altekar in the following lines :—

> "The inclusion of the promotion of dharma among the aims of the state has given rise to a considerable misunderstanding in modern times, which has been to some extent caused by the habit of later writers of describing the king as the champion of Varnas and Ashramas."

This misunderstanding was caused on account of incomplete realization of the fact that customs and traditions change with the change in the socio-economic conditions of the society.

Protection of the people—the most important Raj Dharma—Indian states or Indian monarchy was not theocratic like the state of the Pope or of Dalai Lama or of Khalifa. The king was expected to promote dharma, the most important dharma was the welfare of the people. Welfare and prosperity of the society in those days was considered to be synonymous with dharma.

Dharma was essentially the concern of the Brahmanas or the priests. Kings had the duty to protect these priests and Brahmanas. At certain places, no doubt, we find a conflict between the states and the priests. This conflict did not continue for long.

Limited theocracy—State or monarchy in ancient India was, to be very correct, a limited theocracy. It meant that the rulers were under the influence of the church no doubt, but they were expected to be more true to the public. The kings, on the other hand, were not instruments in the hands of the priests.

Decline of influence of theology—After 400 B. C, the influence of theology on the state started declining. Now positive laws were differentiated from the religious rituals as is evident from the following lines :—

> "Positive law began to be differentiated from religious rituals and traditional customs ; and the security of politics began to aver that the former was more important than the latter. Hindu Polity thus succeeded in emancipating itself from the leading strings of theology by the beginning of the Christian era. The king was no doubt regarded as the protector and enforcer of dharma, but we have shown already how this did not make the state theocratic. His duty was to promote piety and religiousness by extending equal patronage to all sects and religions and to enforce customary laws approved by the social consciousness ; he discharged his functions through officers like the Dharmamahamatras and the Vinayasthitisthapakas. He was not to be an agent of a particular religion or sect working to promote its interests or seeking to carry out its commands. The crusade of a Hindu state against Buddhism or Jainism is rarely met in ancient Indian history."

The duty (dharma) of the king in the early period—In the early ages, the king was expected to bring about the welfare of his subjects. He was to act like an expectant mother who makes all sacrifices for the life of the child in her womb. According to different scriptures, the king was expected to carry out the following duties :—

1. To look after the welfare of the subjects.
2. To preserve and protect the truth.
3. To help the subjects out of his treasury.
4. To keep the decisions confidential, and to protect the religion of all classes and sects.

Duty (dharma) of the king according to Sukra Niti—According to Sukra Niti, the famous work on Hindu Polity, the king was expected to carry out the following duties :—

1. To punish the evil-doers.
2. To protect people.
3. To perform Rajyasuya Yajyas.
4. To realise taxes from the subordinate kings.
5. To augment the treasury by lawful means.
6. To destroy the enemies.
7. To administer the land.

8. To bring about overall development of the state.

The king was also expected to be far-sighted, independent and capable of understanding even difficult problems. He was prohibited from usurping the properties of his subjects.

Mahabharat and duty (dharma) of the king—In Mahabharat also, there is mention about Raj dharma or the duty of the king. The king is expected to carry out the following duties :—

1. To protect the forts.
2. To fight against enemies.
3. To govern the people in a rightful and legal manner.
4. To bright about the prosperity of the people.
5. To take part in meditation, so that he may be able to arrive at solutions of difficult problems.
6. Those who commit heinous crimes should be condemned by the king.

All these books lay down that the king should, first of all, try to protect the people or his subjects.

CONCLUSIONS

1. State in ancient India was not theocratic. It was influenced by religious leaders no doubt.
2. With the passage of time, the influence of theology or religion on the state declined.
3. The main task of the people in ancient India was to protect the interests of the subjects.
4. The king in ancient India was not supposed to be partisan towards the failures of a particular religion. He was expected to protect all sects and religions.
5. In ancient India we do not find any story of oppression by the followers of the king's religion or the followers of other religions.
6. The concept of the dharma in ancient India was in no way different from the concept of duty. In those days the duty was considered synoymous to dharma.
7. The main task of the king in ancient India was to protect the people and their property. The king was expected to uphold the values of truth and morality. This was supposed to be the Rajya Dharma or the duty of the king.

CHAPTER X

REPUBLICS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. What do you understand by republics ? Explain and mention various sources of information about republics in ancient India ?

Ans. The other form of government that we come across in India is the republics. There is mention of the fact that there were Ganas and these Ganas were nothing but the republican form of government. Some political writers have put forward the view that the only form of government known in ancient India was monarchy. But this view is not wholly correct. There were 'Ganas' that had *a definite constitutional meaning that denoted a form of government where* *the power was vested not in one persons, but in a Gana or group of people.' Sangha was another word that was used for Gana or republics. This form of government was quite different from monarchy.*

What is Gana or republics—Before we start discussing about the republican form of government, we should be clear about the meaning of Gana or Sangha. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has defined it in the following words :—

> "It means 'number' : Gana Rajya will, therefore, mean the rule of the numbers, 'the rule by many.' Here the Buddhist canon cames to our assistance."

Prof. A. S. Altekar clarified this definition further in the following words :—

> "With this theocratic background and historic, we can certainly describe ancient Indian Ganas. Gana State are republics in the same sense in which the ancient states of Greece and Rome were given that designation. Sovereignty in these states was vested not in one individual, only in small number of persons. But in a fairly numerous class."[32]

It was *'Panini'* who used the word 'Gana' for the first time. He had used the word *'Gana'* and *'Sangha'* as synonymous. In the Jatakas the word 'Gana' has been used to denote the number of the people or *'Samiti'*.. According to Mahabharat and other writers of dharmasastra, the word *'Gana'* has been used to denote an artificial number. According to Avadanshatak, Gana is opposed to monarchy. Similarly in Jain scriptures, the word 'Gana' has been used for voluntary organisations. All these definitions go to prove that in ancient India there were republics that had a political structure quite different from monarchy. These republics very much resembled the republics of Greece. For example, in *Yudhaiayas,* the power vested in a council of 5000 people, in Lichhivis it vested in a group of people numbering 7707. These were like the republics of Sparta, Athens, etc.

Republics or Ganas—a post-Vedic phenomena—Republics or Ganas are a post-Vedic phenomena. Prior and up to Vedic period, there was only monarchy, although in many respects it was quite like a democratic republic.

Sources of knowledge about republics—We have seen that republics were a form of government quite different from monarchy. In this form of government 'power' was vested in these states not in the whole body of citizens, but in a small aristocratic class'. We get information about these republics from the following sources :—

1. Coins, legends and technical and constitutional terms.
2. Account of Greek writers.
3. **Buddha literature**—In Buddhist literature, there is a lot of material to throw light on republics and their working. In Jatakas, there is description that there were 10422 and 245 republics. Names of these republics have also been enumerated.
4. **Mahabharat**—In the 107th chapter of Shantiparva of Mahabharat, there is description about the characteristics of the Ganas or the Republics. Here it has been said that these republics were famous for their proper organisation, foreign policy and nice laws. There is also a list of the republics, namely Yavadheh, Malava, Shiva, Shakya, Lichchivis etc.
5. **Panini's Ashtadhyayi**—In Panini's Ashtadhyayi, there is description about republics that were called Sanghas of 500 B. C. he has also used Gana and Sangha as synonymous. There is also a list of republics given in this book, some of them are Jalmani, Janki, Yaudhaiya, Madra, Vrija etc..

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[32] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

6. **Republics according to Kautilya**—In Kautilya's Arthasastra also, there is description about the republics. He was a strong protagonist of monarchy, and was instrumental in the destruction of several republics He has even then given some description about *Vairajya*'. This is nothing but a republic or a Gana. He has also said that Vairajya is long-lived and efficiently administered. He has also given a description of some republics, namely, Kamboja, Saurashtra, Lichchivi, Malla etc. There were other republics as well. Destruction of the source-material of history has thrown these republics into oblivion. However, political students do prove that there were republics other than those enumerated in different books and they were nicely administered.

Description of the Greek writers—Greek writers have also put down a description of certain republics. When they came to this country, they came across certain states that were non-monarchical in character. They found a lot of similarity between those states and the republics of their own country.

Certain other facts about republics—There are certain other facts as well about these republics. They are enumerated below :—

Power shared by different classes of people—In a republic, the power was shared between classes of people. This is what Kautilya has said in his Arthasastra.

Republics are not republics alone—In ancient India the word 'republic' or 'gana' has been used not only for a system of government that was republic or democratic It has been used for all types of government other than a monarchy. Oligarchy, aristocracy and other types of government have been described as the republics.

Definition of Gana according to Amarkosha—Some of the commentators did not recognise the political significance of the Ganas, but writers did not fail to recognise this importance. In *Amarkosha 'Gana' has been described as a government in which a group of people ruled.*

Wrong meaning of 'Gana' in English dictionary—The dictionary of *Monier-William*' has given a wrong meaning of the word 'Gana'. He has confused it with '*tribe*' as a result of which a lot of confusion was created in the minds of Sanskrit students. This is not a correct definition. The correct definition of Gana is to be found in other works.

Jain definition of Gana—In Jain literature, also, there is description about Gana. There '*Gana has been described as a group with the main characteristics of possessing a mind, of being conscious.*' This term has also been abused at other places. In Jain literature, it has been further defined as, "*an organised conscious body of men like the political assembly of the Mallas or the assembly of the corporate poura. It is a corporate assembly opposed to a mere multitude and chance collection.*"

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, republic was the other form of government within monarchy that we come across.

2. In republics that have been called as 'Gana Rajyas' in ancient Indian polity, the power vested in a group of people. These Gana Rajyas were also called Sanghas.

3. These republics very much resemble the republics of Greece.

4. These republics grew as political institutions in the post-Vedic era.

5. We get information about the republics from the following sources :—

   (*a*). Coins, legends, technical terms.

(b) Account of Greek authors.
(c) Buddhist literature.
(d) Mahabharat.
(e) Panini's Ashtadhyayi and Kautilya's Arthasastra.

6. Kautilya has described these republics as Vairajyas Although he was a great advocate of monarchy, yet he found certain qualities in these republics.

7. In republics the power was shared by different classes of people.

8. The word 'republic' in ancient Indian polity does not only denote the republican form of government. It denotes all forms of government other than monarchy.

9 In Amarkosha, the famous Sanskrit dictionary, Gana has been described in which a group of people ruled. In the English dictionary of Monier-William, the wrong meaning of Gana has been given. It has been described to mean as a tribe, which caused a lot of confusion.

10. In Jain literature also, we find the definition of Gana as government of the people.

11. It was a form of government in which people had their say.

CHAPTER XI

CHARACTERISTICS OF REPUBLICS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Describe briefly the main characteristics of the republics in ancient India ?

Or

Q. Discuss the chief characteristics of 'Gana Rajya' as depicted in Mahabharat and point out its merits and demerits ?

Or

Q. Discuss the strong and weak points of Ancient Indian Republics and account for their disappearance ?

Ans. Republics and their characteristics—Up to the Vedic times, monarchy as the sole system of government was known. This system of government has certain elements of election or democracy in it. There were also certain other forms of government that have been described as Gana Rajya in ancient Indian literature. The description of the Gana Rajya in its most detailed and authoritative form is available in Mahabharat. In the 107th chapter of Shantiparva of Mahabharat there is description of the characteristics of Ganas. In that detailed description, it has been clearly stated that Ganas did not owe any allegiance to the manarch. The description of Ganas in Mahabharat is to be found as a result of discussion between Yudhishtir and. Bhishma. Some of these characteristics are enumerated below :—

1. **Different from monarchy**—Gana Rajya is different from Nripatanta or monarchy. In monarchy there is likelihood of a struggle between various sons of the king. It can lead to disintegration. No such likelihood exists in a Gana Rajya.

2. **Cannot keep secrets and win friends**—In Gana there is every likelihood of the secret being divulged. There is no one individual that keeps secrets to himself. Since Gana Rajya consists of different kulas or families, it is quite likely that jealousy between different kulas may lead to warfare between the two.

3. **Likelihood of division**—In Ganas, there is every likelihood of division. Such division can lead to disintegration. Good Ganas bring in all happiness. In good Ganas, where people live and behave in a straight away manner, there is happiness all around.

4. **Rule of the Kulas**—In Ganas in ancient India, there was rule of the clans or kulas. There were different families that formed the Ganas and sometimes different Ganas entered into an alliance. They, thus, carried out their jobs jointly. Whenever there was a rivalry or jealousy between different clans, it brought about disintegration of Ganas.

5. **Broad-based power**—In republics, there was broad-based power. It vested not in the descendants of a particular individual but in several individuals, who were equal to one another. Even Brahmans took to professions other than those prescribed for them. Brahmanas were originally priests but whenever they founded republics, they took to profession other than the one prescribed for them.

6. **Mutual service**—In Ganas, there was the spirit of mutual service. Sons of the components were equal and they helped each other.

7. **Reasonable restriction**—In republics of ancient India, there was a reasonable restriction. No family group could become despotic, what to talk of individual.

8. **Good judicial system**—In republics, there was good judicial system. Cases were decided nicely, and in the interest of the people.

Enough of resources or treasury—Since in Ganas several families or clans joined together, there was a good deal of treasury.

Good military organisation—In Ganas, there was a system of conscription or compulsory military training and so it was like a nation in arms. This provided a nice military base to these republics. *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal* has described it in the following words :—

> "A great reason of their (republic) political strength was that a republic was *nation in arms.* The whole community was their army. They were the citizen army and, therefore, immeasurably superior to the hard levies of monarchies. And when they formed an offensive and defensive lead, they were regarded invincible."

All-round development—In Ganas, there was the government of the people and by the people and so most of the persons were interested in the welfare of the nation and the development. This brought about an overall development of the territories under Gana system.

Executive vested in the Central Assembly—In republics, the executive power did not vest in any individual member. It vested in the Central Assembly. This also led to the keen interest of the people in the affairs of the state.

Government of the parties—In Ganas, there was democracy. There was government of the parties as we find in India today.

Defects or weak points of the Ganas—The Ganas system of government had certain weak points as well. These weak points were also reponsible for the disappearance of the system of government,

1. **Internal rivalry and jealousy**—These Ganas had certain internal rivalry and jealousy. There was likelihood of growth of such unhealthy feelings. This led to weakness.

2. **President likely to degenerate into a dictator**—Since the affairs of the republics were administered by the Gana, there was every likelihood of the President becoming a dictator, if he was over-ambitioos.

3. **Likelihood of conspiracy**—In republics, since many people were involved, there was likelihood of a conspiracy being hatched to bring about their downfall.

4. **Large number of membership**—Since a republic or Gana consisted of several members, there was every likelihood of the secrets being divulged, This defect of republics has been underlined in Mahabharat.

5. **Small in size and so likely to be usarped by big kingdam**—Ganas were small in size. No big state adopted republican form of government. Since the republics were small in size, they could be usurped by larger kingdoms. This is what has been pointed out in the following lines :—

> "These small units to start with, and a tendency to become smaller, jealousy and rivalry among politicians, and licence in public speaking seems to be the chief points of weakness of the Hindu Republican Polity."[33]

Confederaion of republics—In *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, we also find mention of the fact that several small republics, in the interest of their security and defence, jointed into a confederation. This confederation resembled the modern confederation of the Arab States.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Apart from monarchy another system of government known as 'republics' was to be found in ancient India. They were different from monarchy.

2. The administration in the republics was carried by a group of people, and not by individuals.

3. Since the administration was carried out by a group of people, it was quite possible for them to divulge their secrets.

4. It was also possible to find a division in the group of the administrators.

5. In republics there was the rule of the kulas or families.

6. The power in these republics, was not concentrated in one hand. It was broad-based and carried out by a group of people.

7. In the Ganas, there was spirit of mutual service.

8. There may not be despotic rule and so reasonable instructions were imposed on the administrators in republics.

9. There was a good judicial system in the republics.

10. Republics had a good military organisation and enough of treasury. There every individual was a military man and, since the rule was of a group, people did not hesitate in paying taxes.

11. In republics there was an all round development.

12. In republics the executive power vested not in a particular individual but in the Central Assembly, which was like the Parliament today.

13. In republics there was the government of the parties.

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[33] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

14. In republics there were certain weaknesses. It was these weaknesses that brought about their downfall. These weaknesses are enumerated below :—

(*a*) There was internal rivalry and jealousy in the republics.
(*b*) There was every likel·hood of the President becoming a dictator.
(*c*) In republics conspiracy could be easily hatched and the destruction of the government brought about.
(*d*) Large number of administrators helped the leakage the secrets.
(*e*) Since the republics were small territories, they could be very easily usurped by big empires.

15. In ancient India, there were also confederations of republics. These confederations resembled the modern Arab states.

CHAPTER XII

RISE AND FALL OF REPUBLICS

Q. Trace the rise and fall of republics in ancient India and show their special characteristics ?

Or

Q. Trace the history of rise and fall of Gana Rajya in ancient India and explan the cause of their ultimate disappearance ?

Or

Q. How would you explain the decline and fall of republican state in India ?

Ans. Republican from of government—We have already seen that along with monarchy, republics also existed. These republics were small in size. They had the power in the hands of a group of people. They could not stand the onslaught of the time and disappeared from the political firmament of ancient Indian polity. What led to their rise and what led to their fall in ultimate disappearance is a matter of debate and discussion.

Different republics—We have also seen in the preceding passages that there were different republics, namely, *Yuvadhaih*, Lichchavi, *Mallas*, Kshudraka, etc. These republics were mostly situated either in Punjab or in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh : '*Krishna*' has also been described as a head or a particular republic of Yadavas. These republics continued to exist till the time of the Gupta empire. Even Mauryans did not disturb their existence according to *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal* It was the Gupta empire that brought about the annihilation of the republics. The following passage bears it out :—

> "The Gupta power struck the republican system in Rajputana. The Guptas, however, rose to imperial position by their alliance with the republican Lichchavis who had survived the Maurya and Sungth and had grown highly powerful. They had outlived their ancient contemporaries in power and ramained the single and sole representative of ancient republicanism."

Along with Rajputana, Punjab was also a land of republics. These republics existed there even at the time of invasion of Alexander and continued even afterwards.

Causes of the rise of the republics—Republics came into existence as an alternative to monarchy. In republican system of administration, there was greater democratization. People could be the masters of their destiny. This was, probably, one of the basic causes of the rise of the republics.

These republics, as we have already seen, grew in the post-Vedic period. By that time, political system had developed and people had learnt to govern themselves. This thing was very well reflection republics.

Combination of Kulas and tribes—In Vedic period, there were different kulas and tribes. They carried out the administration of their own clan. This was done on republican lines. Naturally corollary of such system of administration was joining together all kulas and families. This brought about the rise of the republics.

Fall of the republics—The republics could not survive the onslaught of the political power of the monarchy and imperialism. There were other factors also for their downfall and ultimate disappearance. They could not provide that efficient administration which was provided by the rule of one man. In modern world also, we find that countries under dictatorship are able to progress faster than the countries under democratic system. No doubt, the progress in dictatorship is at the cost of not only human liberty, but also at human life, which is much more costly than a good administration. In spite of this drawback, the fact remains that dictatorships have brought about progress in shorter period of time. This was true in ancient India as well. Republic could not provide the efficient administration that was provided by monarchy. This brought about the downfall and ultimate disappearance. This causes of the enumerated below :—

1. **Personal rivalry and greed for power**—Since in republic more than one person ruled, sometimes there grew personal rivalry and greed for power. This had an adverse effect on the working of the republics.

2. **Wherever there was concord and harmony, like Lichchavis, the republics had a long life.**

3. **Small size**—Republic were smaller in size and so it was easy for monarchies and emperors to usurp them.

4. **Policy of the emperors**—Emperors like *Chandra Gupta Maurya* and emperors of *Gupta dynasty*, brought about the downfall of the republics. They could not tolerate a different system of political administration, right within the heart of their empire. They, therefore, tried to accentuate the difference between different ruling groups in republics and brought about their ultimate destruction. This was done by *Chandra Gupta Maurya* as well as Gupta rulers.

5. **Existing privileged class**—Some republics were of clad-origin. Such republics had members of the privileged aristocratic class. As time passed, this privileged class was opposed by others. On the other hand, this class tried to entranch itself deeply into power. All this had an adverse effect on the existence of the republics.

Disappearance of the republics—Republics did not have a very long life. Relatively speaking, they disappeared from the political scene quite early. Several factors were responsible for it.

Rivalry between monarchy and republics—There was rivalry between monarchy and republics. Whenever monarchy saw that republics were better to govern, they felt jealous of them and tried to find out ways and means to finish them. This happened more in the Gupta period. There was rivalry between Pushyamitras of the *Mitra republics* and *Gupta* of the Gupta dynasty of emperors. Since *Pushyamitras* assumed greater power and wealth, it caused jealousy in the hearts of the *Gupta*. It was *Samudra Gupta* and *Skanda Gupta* who succeeded in bringing about the disappearance of different republics.

By the end of the fifth century, republics had disappeared from the political scene of ancient India. Kings or monarch had the sway. This was very much true about emperors of Gupta dynasty. They annexed several republics and ultimately made them part of their empire. This is corroborated by the following lines :—

> "Samudra Gupta, like Alexander, killed free spirit of the country. He destroyed the Malavas and the Vavadhaiyas, who were the nursery of freedom and many others of their class."[34]

In *Puranas* also, we find that the republics were annexed by emperors. This was the major factor responsible for the disappearance of the republics. The belief in the divine-origin of the king added to this disappearance.

CONCLUSION

1. In ancient India, there were republics in different parts of the country. These republics mostly existed in Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, etc.

2. They disappeared after the 5th century A. C.

3. Those republics, as we have already said, were the combination of culas or tribes.

4. Their weakness have also been enumerated earlier. It was these weaknesses that brought about their downfall.

5. The reasons for the downfall of these republics are enumerated below :—

(*a*) Personal rivalry and greed for power was one of the major factors responsible for the downfall of the republics.

(*b*) If there was concord and harmony, the republics worked very nicely.

(*c*) Since these republics were small in size, they were destroyed by monarchies by one method or the other.

(*d*) The policy of the emperors, specially that of Chandra Gupta Maurya and those of Gupta dynasty, was to bring about the downfall of the Indian republics.

(*e*) Even in the republics, there was a privileged class. This class sometimes was responsible for the downfall of the republics.

(*f*) There was rivalry between monarchies and republics. This rivalry had an adverse effect on the existence of the republics. They, therefore, utimately came to an end.

CHAPTER XIII

REPUBLICS ACCORDING TO PANINI

Q. Describe briefly the condition of the republic as seen by Panini ?

Or

Q. 'In Panini's Ashtadhyayi we find a nice description of the republics'. Discuss.

Ans. Republics and Panini—Panini has given a nice description of the republics. He lived about 500 B. C. In fact, his grammar, he has used certain terms that belonged to the field of republics. He has also given an idea about the area covered by the republics. The following lines from *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's*

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[34] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—"Hindu Polity".

'Hindu Polity' amply illustratue the valuable information provided by Panini about republics :—

> "Panini gives most valuable information about Hindu republics of his time which I take to be about 500 B. C. He gives several rules about the formation of the words connected with *Samghas*. The large number of the rules impress one with the importance which the contemporaries of Panini attach to the republic. Like any other important orthodox institutions, the republics engage the attention of the orthodox grammarians. Further, Panini gives an indication as to the country and area covered by the republics in his days."

Panini's Samgha is only political in character—'In ancient Indian literature, we find different types of '*Samghas*'. There were *Buddhist* and '*Jain Samghas*' as well. They were essentially religious in character, but in Panini's Phraseology, these *Samghas* had no importance. He has only described the political Samghas or the republics. From this use, it is inferred that 'Jain *Samghas* either did not exist (and in that case Panini's date would be 600 B. C.) or they had not become important.'

Caste in Samghas—According to *Panini*, the republics in ancient India had names from which it could be discerned whether that particular republic was of the '*Brahmanas*' or '*Kshatriyas*'. This thing points out to a developed state of Hindu society as opposed to the tribal state. This thing is all evident from the derivations made by *Panini* about different words.

From all this it becomes clear that '*Samghas*' were quite contrast of monarchy and Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and members of other cases could form the personnel of the Samghas. It was not composed of one caste or tribe.

Panini has described two types Samghas :—

(*a*) Ayudhajivi Samghas, and

(*b*) Other Samghas.

Ayudhajivi Samghas—According to *Panini*, these samghas were very good at the art of fighting. Probably most of the rulers of these samghas belonged to the warrior class or clans, or Kshatriyas. According to Panini, following were the Ayudhajivini Samghas :—

1. **Virka.**
2. **Damani.**
3. **Trigartta—Shashtha**—This was, in fact, a league of six Trigarttas or a group of different republics. Their names are given below :
   - (i) *The Kaundoparatha.*
   - (ii) *The Dandaki.*
   - (iii) *The Kausataki.*
   - (iv) *Jalamani.*
   - (v) *The Brahmagupta.*
   - (vi) *The Janaki* (or Jalaki).

There has been a lot of difference of opinion about the meaning of the Ayudhajivi republics. On the basis of the words of *Kautilya*, it has been inferred that these republics did not comprise of the people who were very well had military art or who lived only by practising the art of war. Greek writers belie this interpretation. On the basis of the testimony of the Greek writers, *Ayudhajivi republics* of Panini 'are to be taken as denoting those republics which considered military art as the vital number of their constitution. That was a chief feature of their constitution in the eyes of their contemporaries, as the chief feature in other class of republics was the law which allowed the elected President to be called '*Rajan* or *king*'.

Situation or area of existence—According to Panini, these republics were situated in '*Vahika*' Pradesh or 'Vahika' country According to *Dr. K P. Jayaswal*, 'Vahika' means 'the country of rivers' and it comprised of the Sindh valley and Punjab. From this, it can be said that these republics existed in the states of Punjab and Sindh. It was natural for these republics to be martial. They were situated at the gate-way of India. Invaders usually came from that direction and it was, therefore, necessary for these republics to be ready with arms.

Other republics in Panini—Apart from martial republics or *Ayudhajivi republics*, there were other republics as well. *Panini* has given their number as six. They also existed during that very period. According to Panini, they are as follows :—

1. Madra.
2. Vriji.
3. Rajanya.
4. The Andhak Vrishni.
5. Maharaja.
6. Bharga.

Madra was situated in Punjab. Shakal was the capital of Madra. People of Shakal were Madras and so they gave the adjoining area the name of Madra. These people used the figures in their coins and they had fought against Samudra Gupta.

Vriji or Vijji—Vriji is to be found in Buddha literature, According to Panini, they had a republic of their own

Rajanya—The word 'Rajanya' has a special constitutional significance. This term is also used in connection with *Virshni Andhakak* literature. Probably, it meant that there was a league of republics in which the executive power vested in two Rajanyas. This whole situation has been clearly brought about by *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal* in the following words in his book 'Hindu Polity' :—

> "Apparently, the Vrishni-Andhaka league had a joint federal constitution where executive power was vested in two rajanyas, with their respective vargas, representing each division ; and this was probably the Rajanyaka of Amara. Katyayana mentioning 'the Party (varga) of Akrura' and the 'Party of Vasudeva', undoubtedly draws on old literature. Akrura was an Andhaka leader ; and it seems that at one time he was one of the two presidents of the Federal Council. This explains Krishna's saying in the Mahabharat that he holds authority or Aisvarya to the extent of one-half only (ardhabhokia). In the tradition quoted in the Mahabharat the Party of Akrura is bitterly complained against by Krishna. Probably it is to a constitution like that of the Andhaka-Vrishnis that the Jaina Sutra refers as the rule of opposing parties.
>
> Changing dual groups—Vasudeva and Ugrasena, Akrura and Vasudeva, Sini and Vasudeva—suggest that the Andhaka Rajanya and the Virshni Rajanya were elected rulers. The coins were struck in the name of the Rajanyan and in the name of the Gana, jointly. Other coins struck in the name of Rajanyans without the mention of the name of the states, have been found. In view of our interpretation of the term Rajanya, in all probability, they are republican coins."

Andhaka Vrishni Samgha—Panini has used this phrase in a special manner. They are identical with the Satvats of Puranas. In Mahabharat, Andhaka rulers have been called 'Bhojas'. They were a sub-division of the Yadavas, but, later on, came to be called as Bhojas. Vrishnis has no Rajanya or constitutional monarch of their own. They were a Samgha. Kautilya has also mentioned it.

Constitutional significance of Rajanya—Rajanya, specially in reference to Vrishni Samgha had a special constitutional significance. Panini his laid down that there were two Rajanyas in Andhaka Vrishni Samgha. Probably, these were the two leaders of the families that had been consecrated to the rulership of the Samgha. It means that there was a dual government of the two groups.

State arms of the republics—According to Panini, Samghas had two arms or marks, namely, (*a*) *Anka* and (*b*) *Lakshna*. These symbols were used on the coins as well. '*Lakshana Adhyaksha*' or the Director of Lakshnas was no one other than the Mint Master, responsible for minting the coins.

Anka was the symbol adopted by the changing governments. Every elected ruler of the body of the rulers had its own special '*Anka*'. which was put on the scene.

Corporate character of the Samghas—Samghas or the republics had a corporate character. This is also evident from the '*Lakshnas*' and the '*Ankas*' This is what *Dr. K P. Jayaswal* has said in his regard :—

> "In case of Pancha-marked coins what legends, a Samgha probably employed its special Anka in initial letters or fuller legends and its Lakshana in the figure of an animal or river, town or the like. The figure most likely is the Lakshana, and the legend Anka. The constitutional point is that the corporate character of Samghas is emphasized by the corporate crist and symbol."

Division of the republics—Panini had also indicated that there was a division of the republics into two classes. *Firstly*, there were republics that had two-chamber Central Assembly. There were upper and lower conditions. *Secondly*, there were republics where no such conditions existed. There was a single-chamber Central Assembly.

This is what we find in modern India as well. There are states where there is onlp one house of the legislature while in other states where there are two houses of legislature. Panini has used the word Anattaradhara or Nikay for those republics that had only one-chamber Central Assembly.

In short, it may be said that Panini has tried to give an indication of different qualities of the republics or '*Samghas*'. He was not a political writer and so he has not given a direct description of these things. Essentially he was a grammarian and so he has made a mention of these books in the book of grammar. It is for the political thinkers to derive inferences from those phrases.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In Panini's Ashtadhyaya, which dates back to 500 B. C., there are references to republics.

2. These republics were a form of government, different from monarchy. They were of different varieties. We find their description in Panini as well.

3 There were certain caste-republics in which people of a particular caste ruled.

4. According to Panini, there were two types of Samghas :—
   (*a*) Ayudhijivi Samghas or republics ruled by martial people ; and
   (*b*) other Samghas.

5. Vriki, Damana, etc. were Ayudhiivi Samghas.

6. There were a group of republics as well. These were called Trigarttasastra.

7. Most of the republics, specially those belonging to the martial class, existed in Punjab and Indus valley.

8. Apart from the republics of the martial races, there were other republics as well.

9. In ancient Indian republics, according to Panini, there used to be dual form of government as well. This was carried out by heads of two families.

10. Term 'Rajanya' had a special constitutional significance in reference to these republics.

11. These republics had certain symbols. These symbols indicated their corporate character.

12. Panini has again described two other classes of republics, one of them had two chambers of Central Assembly while the other had only one.

13. Panini has not given any direct description of these republics. He has only made a mention of this in his book of grammar. Political writers have drawn inferences from those phrases.

CHAPTER XIV

REPUBLICS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Q. Describe briefly the administration of the republics as described in Buddhist literature ? *Or*

Q. What were the republics as described in Buddhist literature ? What do you know about them ?

Ans. Buddhist Samgha—The entire Buddhist system of religion was based on Samghas. It is the opinion of the political writers that Buddhist institution of Samgha has been borrowed from political Samgha. This is on account of the fact that Lord Buddha was born in a family that was governed by a republican political system. It is, therefore, quite easy to establish the historical relationship between the religious Samghas of the Buddhist period and the political Samghas of the day.

We have a rich Buddha-literature, that throws light on different aspects of the society of those days. In those days, there were different kingdoms that were administered in the republican and democratic system They included Kosala, Kausambi, Sakyas, Lichchavis, Mallas, etc. Amongst these republics Vriji and Malla were very important. Kautilya and Panini have also mentioned them.

Sakya Gana and Buddhist literature—Sakyas had a Gana. Gautam Buddha was born in this very republic. He was the son of the Head of the republic. This republic was under the suzerainty of the king of Kausala. It was ruled in a democratic manner through a council composed of about five members.

Administration of the Sakyas—They carried out their administration in a democratic manner. Their administration system has nicely been summed up by Rhys Davids, the most important authority on Buddhist literature. He was called the *Sakyas* as the clans. According to *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal*, they had passed the stage of the clans. In fact, they had become fullfledged Samghas, which was a quite advanced stage of political administration. Their procedure of administration has nicely been summed up in the following lines of *Professor Rhys Davids*, as quoted by *Dr. KP. Jayaswal* in his 'Hindu Polity' :—

> "The administration and judicial business" says Prof. Rhys Davids, "of the clan (correctly speaking, 'the state') was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that Kingh Pasenad's proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall where the Sakyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter"
>
> "A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, end. if no sessions were sitting, over State. He bore the title of raja. which must have meant something like the Roman consul, or the Greek archon. We hear nowhere of such a triunvirate as bore corresponding office among the Lachchavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we hear at one time that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's was the raja ; and in another passage, Suddhodana, Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana Sakiyan), is called the raja."

Lichchavi Samghas—In Jatakas, there is a good deal of description about the Gana rulers of Lichchavis. Their description is found in other books as well. In this system of the government, there were three highest officers :—

1. President, who was called 'Raja' ;
2. Vice-President, who was called Up-Raja ; and
3. Generalismo or Commander-in-Chief, who was called Senapati.

Jatakas' have also mentioned a fourth officer of the highest order. He was '*Bhandagarika*' or the 'Chancellor of the exchequer.' He was the highest finance officer of the republic.

Location—This republic was situated in the city of *Vaisali* and was fortified by a triple system of fortification.

Sovereignty—In this republic, the sovereignty vested in the inhabitants who elected the administrative officers. These inhabitants, according to Jatakas, were probably the foundation families who ruled over this republic. This does not mean the entire population, because it was much more than this number. Population was about 1,68,000.

House of Parliament—There was also a House of Parliament in which political and military matters were discussed. Policy about agriculture and commerce was also decided in the meeting of this House Law. In this republic everyone was considered to be equal. There was no difference of age, status of any other kind.

Individual liberty in its safeguard—In the republic of Vaisali or Lichchavis individual liberty or civic liberty was zealously guarded. The President was the highest judicial authority. This is what we find in India today. '*The President*' has a right to commute, condone and grant mercy of the punishment or conviction made by even the Supreme Court.

Perfect judicial system—In 'Attha-Katha', there is a detailed description of the judicial system of the Lichchavis. This judicial system was perfect in many respects. No one could be held guilty, unless punishment had been awarded to him by the Senapati, *Up-Raja or Raja* and that too without dissent. Before awarding such a punishment, an enquiry used to be held In many respects this system amongst the Lichchavi was superior to the present system of administering justice and awarding punishment. How justice was administered can be judged from the following lines :—

> "This description of criminal procedure of Attha-katha is in keeping with the general procedure of republican system of justice as preserved in Sanskrit literature. In the opinion of the author of the Mahabharata, criminal justice in a republic should be administered by experts through the President.................that the Elders of the Kula Court (=Kūlaka) were not expected to connive at any offence. Bhrigu, enumerating different judicial authorities, implies that in the case of a Gana the deciding body was called Kulika and also Kula. Katyayana uses Kula in the sense of a jury. The Ashta-Kulaka thus would signify a judicial council of eight members, and not, as heretofore interpreted 'Representatives of eight clans."[35]

'Vidhaiyas'—According to Buddist literature, Vidhaiyas and Lichchavis were joined together in a league. They were together called '*Samvajjis*'. It very much represents the joining together of United Arab League.

These two states also joined with '*Mallas*'. In fact, Mallas and Lichchavis had entered into a confederation which was administered by a federal council that was composed of 18 members. These members were designated as '*Gana Rajas*'. In this council, the federating state had equal number of votes.

Lichchavis are an indication of the republics of those days—In Buddhist literature, a lot of mention has been made of *Lichchavis*. It was one of the most important states of the time, practising Buddhism. The description of Lichchavis gives an idea of the working of other republics of those days.

Difference between big republics and small republics—There was some difference between small republics and the big republics, of those days. This is also evident from the Buddhist literature. The following lines corroborate this statement :—

> "It is clear that the constitutional machinery of small states like those of the Moriyas, the Koliyas and the Sakyas, which included hardly a few score villages in their jurisdiction, must have been different from that prevailing in big cities like those of the Yaudheyas and the Malvas, which covered extensive territories including designs of cities and thousands of villages."[36]

Sovereignty and the Central Assembly—According to Buddha literature, sovereignty in these republics vested in a Central Assembly. Its membership differed from republic to republic. It was like Parliament of these republics, although, numerically, very different from the present membership of the Parliament.

Decentralization of administration—In bigger republics, according to Buddhist literature, there was decentralization of power. This decentralization was done in the interest of efficient administration. It shall be more evident from the following lines :—

> "The administration of bigger states like that of Yaudhaiyas and Malavas was organised in a different way. They were divided into provinces,

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35. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.
36. A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India".

each under a separate governor, probably recruited from the privileged class. The numerous cities of the state constituted separate government units, completely autonomous and administrated by the leading men."[37]

CONCLUSIONS

1. We find a good deal of description of the Samghas in the Buddhist literature. In fact, the Samghas described in the *Buddhist literature* had a lot of influence of the religious Samghas on them.

2. *Gautam Buddha* was himself born in a republic where administration was carried on in a democratic manner. This had an influence on the thinking of Gautam Buddha.

3. In *Jatakas* there is descriptson of different republics. *Lichchavi Samghas* was the most important republic, as described in the Buddhist literature. In this republic, the President was the head of the republic. Apart from the President, there was the Vice-President and the Commander-in-Chief. There is also description about the fourth officer, who was the head of the treasury.

4. In this republics that was situated in Vaisali, sovereignty vested in the representatives of different families.

5. There was a House of Parliament that discussed several matters pertaining to the state polity.

6. In Lichchavi republics, there was arrangement for safe-guarding the individual system. This republic had a perfect judicial system. All these things have been described in the Buddhist literature.

7. Other than Lichchavis, there is also description of the Vidaih republic. The republic joined hands with the Mallas and entered into a confederation.

8. From the Buddhist literature, we gather that there was difference in the administration of big republics and the small republics.

9. In all these republics, the sovereignty vested in the Central Assembly, which was like the Parliament of today.

10. In these republics, there was decentralization of administration and power.

11. All these things speak of a Buddhist concept of republics.

CHAPTER XV

REPUBLICS AS DEPICTED IN ARTHASASTRA

Q. Describe briefly the republics as depicted in Arthashastra of Kautilya ?

Ans. Republics as a system of government—'Kautilya' has described the republics as a system of government different from monarchy. '*Kautilya*' was a protagonist of monarchy. He did not very much like the system of the government practised in republics, yet he had tried to make an objective study of the conditions of the republics. '*Kautilya*' has used the word 'Gana' for these republics. In these republics, the sovereigaty vested in the representatives of the ruling families or clans. There was also a '*Parliament*' or a Central Assembly in

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37. A. S. Altka—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

which deliberations about the working of these '*Samghas*' was carried out. How 'Kautilya' has seen these republics can be judged from the following lines :—

> "The members of a Gana are there said to be exact equals of one another in respect of birth and family, and it is expressly stated that if quarrels broke out amongst the kulas, the Elders of the kulas should by no means remain indifferent, otherwise the Gana would be dissolved. This also clearly shows that Gana in its specific sense denoted the rule of a federation of families, whether they belonged to one clan or one tribe. We further learn that a select few were appointed by a Gana from among themselves called Mukhiyas or Chiefs, as we also learn from the Kautilya. They constituted a sort of cabinet and were in-charge of the department of espionage and of all state affairs of a highly confidential nature. Though the real power, as a rule, lay in the hands of a few only, every member of the Gana was styled Rajana."[38]

Classification of Samghas—'*Kautilya*' in his Arthasastra has classified Samghas or republics into two categories :—

(*a*) Martial Samghas or Ayudhjivi Samghas ; and

(*b*) Other Samghas.

Classification of Samghas on the basis of titles—Kautilya has described '*Samghas*' into classes on the basis of title as well. In one class of the Samghas, the consuls bore the title of Raja or king. In other class, there was no provision for such a title. Samghas in which the consuls were called Rajans are enumerated below :—

(*a*) Lichchavikas.

(*b*) Vrijikas.

(*c*) Mallakas.

(*d*) Madrakas.

(*e*) Kukares.

(*f*) Panchalas and others.

Other class of republics—There were other republics as well where the consuls were not called Rajana These were the martial type of republics. Such republics did not have any provision for a king-consul. They are enumerated below :—

1. Kambojas.
2. Saurashtras.
3. Kshatriyas.
4. Shrenis and others.

From monarchy to republic—Kautilya has given a list of the republics and also given a description about them. Many of the republics by the time of the *Kautilya* had changed their constitution, yet they were essentially republics. They have been described so. The history of Lichchavis and Mallas has also been described.

Characteristics of the martial or Ayudhjivi republics—These republics were essentially martial. Probably, the ruling families belonged to the martial class and so they have been described so by *Kautilya* in his *Arthasastra*. These republics had the following characteristics :—

1. In these republics, the consul was not called a Rajana.

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[38] D. R. Bhandarkar—'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity'.

2 In such republics, great emphasis was laid on the citizens' duty to acquire military skill In such republics, there were citizens army and each republic was a nation in arms. In contrast to this thing, the republics, where the head of the republic was called Rajana, there was a hired army. *Kshudrakas* and *Malvas* were such republics. *Kautilya* has not mentioned them. Probably, by the time of the Kautilya, they had been annexed by the imperial system. *Kautilya* has put *Kambhojas* as the top of the list of such republics.

Situation of these republics—These republics were situated in different parts of the country. This can be judged from *Kautilya's* Arthasastra as well.

Kambhojas were situated in eastern Afghanistan. We find their description in Ashoka's inscriptions as well. Panini has also referred to them. Kautilya has also talked about them.

Then, there were *Bhojas*, who were very much similar to *Kambhojas*.

The republic of *Surashtra* was situated in Kathiawar.

Kshatriyas and Shrenis, the two other republics, were situated in the neighbourhood of Sindh. The name '*Kshatriyas*', according to Arthasastra, was the proper name of a political body. It is said that the Khatris of Punjab belong to this very clan or group of families.

Shreni was also the name given to a group of people that formed a particular republic.

Confusion about the exact nature of the republics due to translator of Arthasastra—The translator of Arthasastra has made an error about translating certain passages that referred to republics. This error has caused confusion about proper understanding of the real significance of these republics. The following lines clarify this point further :—

> "I may here point out that the translator of the Arthasastra has fallen into an error in translating the passage, 'Kambhoja-Surashtra-Kshatriya-Srenyadayah' as "the corporations of warriors (Kshatriya-sreni) of Kambhoja and Surashthra and other countries." The rendering is against grammar ; 'adayah', 'and others', excludes the possibility of a description coming in the group just preceding. If Kambhoja is a proper name, the rest, up to 'adayah' must be proper names. The description really comes after the enumeration closed with 'adayah', in vartta-sastropajivinah. Both in view of our identification and grammatical considerations, the translation is unacceptable. There is yet another error to be avoided *viz.*, taking 'Sreni' here to mean a guild. If vartta (industry and agriculture) refers to alleged guilds (Srenis) it ought to have been placed after, not before, sastra, as Sreni is the last, coming after Kshatriya, in the group."

CONCLUSIONS

1. In Kautilya's Arthasastra there is description of republics. He was a protagonist of monarchy, yet he has mentioned the merits and good points of the republics, as he saw them in his days.

2. He has used the word 'Gana' for these republics in which he saw the equality of status for all the citizens.

3. According to *Kautilya*, there were two types of republics :—

   (*a*) Those in which the rulers were the class of the warriors and almost all the citizens were soldiers. These republics were like a nation in arms. He has called these republics as *Audhjivis*. In such republics, the head of the republics was not called 'Rajana' or 'Raja', (*b*) On the other hand, there were other republics that were not of the martial type. In these republics the head of the republic was called a '*Rajana*'.

4. *Kautilya* has also classified the republics on the basis of this title as well.

5. These republics have been called martial because they were ruled by the families that were essentially martial or warrior in outlook and attitude.

6. The republics that were different from the martial republics had a hired army. There it was binding on the citizens to acquire the skill of war.

7. Many of the martial republics and other republics were taken over by monarchies and kings

8. Republics were situated in different parts of the country. Mostly they were situated in Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana, etc.

CHAPTER XVI

REPUBLICS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

Q. Describe the administrative machinery of the republics ?

Or

Q. Give a critical account of the Constitutional and the administrative system of the republics ?

Ans. Administration of the republics—In Buddhist literature, there is a detailed description about the administration on certain republics. The administration of almost all the republics was similar in many respects. The rules and regulations of Buddhism are very much founded on the laws of the republics. Apart from the Buddha literature, the information about the administration of these republics is available at other places. This information has to be placed together, so that a complete picture about the administration of these republics may be drawn. The republics were administered through the following ageticies:—

1. Central Assembly—There is no definite information available about the procedure of government in these republics. The references about the procedure of government in these republics are to be found in *Buddhist literature*, '*Mahabharat*' and other scriptures. The administration of *Buddhist Samghas* also throws light on the administration of the republics. The *Central Assembly* was the *Parliament* of the republics. The sovereignty of the republics vested in this Central Assembly. Its membership differed from republic to republic. In *Lichchavi republics*, the number of members of the Central Assembly was 7,707, while in Yaudheh republic, it was 5,000.

There was a meeting place for this Central Assembly. Whenever such a meeting was held, announcement to this effect was made. The cabinet was elected by the members of this Central Assembly. Cabinet, as we shall see later on, included the head of the republic or the Present, the Vice-President, the Commander-in-Chief, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other ambassadors etc.

Decisions in the meetings of this Central Assembly were arrived at after a good deal of deliberations.

2. Cabinet—In ancient Indian republics, there were no definite number prescribed for the membership of the *Cabinet*. This is true of today's republics as well. The strength of the members of the cabinet is not limited to a particular number. In *Lichchavi republic* the cabinet had 9 members while in that of *Mallas* there were only four. In Vidhaih republic, there were 18 members of the cabinet. In short, it may be said that the membership of the cabinet ranged from four to twenty. These members were elected by the *Central Assembly.*

This is not so in the modern India The members of the cabinet are chosen by the leader of the majority party, who is, of course, elected by the members of the majority party.

3 **Judicial system**—In the republics of ancient India, there was a perfect judicial system. The highest judicial powers of the republic vested in the President or the head of the republic. Then there were other officers to administer justice to people who needed it. There were courts at different levels

4. **Resolution for consideration of Jnapti**—Invariably a person would move a resolution for consideration. He would announce to the assembled members the topic of the motion, that he intended to move. The announcement was called '*Jnapti.*'

5. **Deliberations**—Once the motion was put before the House, people would start deliberations. Before deliberations started, the officer responsible for the seating arrangement of the members, had to see to it that they were seated properly. This officer was called '*Asana-Projnopaka.*' Questions were put to the members once or thrice to ascertain if they approve moving of the motion. The motion could be moved only if the House agreed to discuss it. This is the procedure that we find in the assemblies and Parliaments even today.

6. **Voting and ballot**—Today in the assemblies and parliament, certain decisions are carried out by a voice.. If the voice of the supporters of a particular motion is louder than the voice of those opposing it, the resolution is considered as passed. And, if it is vice-versa, it is considered as lost. In the republics of ancient India, there was a system of ballot. If voting was to be done, people were given tickets or ballot papers that were known as *Slakas* in those times. There was a '*SalakGahapaka*'. He was supposed to be the collectors of the votes.

7. **Whip and quorum**—There was also system of whip and quorum. It was essential to have a prescribed number of the members present. In order to secure this number of persons, whip was issued. The officer responsible for it was called 'Gana-puraka.'

8. **Appointment of sub-committee**—There was also a system of appointing sub-committees to decide certain issue. These sub-committees were like the Select Committees of today. They were called '*Udvahika*'. These committees were entrusted with the job of deciding the issues that could not be decided in the assembly.

9. **Record of the deliberations**—Record of the deliberations of the proceeding of the assembly was maintained. This was done in order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding in future.

10. **Two-chamber houses of the Parliament**—In certain republics there were *two houses of the Parliament*. The second chamber resembled the House of Lords of today. Some of the members of this chamber belonged to the royal family.

11. **Administration of republics simlar to administration of Buddhist Samghas**—The administration of republics in ancient India was very much similar to the administration of the Buddhist Samghas. *Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar* has supported this point of view, as shall be evident from the following lines :—

"What is noteworthy is that practically none of the terms technical the samghas debate have been anywhere explained by Buddha. Had he himself been the inventor of them, it would have been imperatively necessary for him to explain in-extenso. Evidently he borrowed these terms, which were borrowed well known in his time and which therefore called no explanation. There can, therefore, be no doubt with the various technical terms and rules of procedure which Buddha adopted for his religious samghas were those which were already in vogue that the institutions of a democratic type, whether political, municipal or commercial, for the transaction of their business.'

CONCLUSIONS

1. In republics of ancient India there was a perfect system of administration. There was a Central Assembly, like the Parliament, that discussed and deliberated the issues before the republic.
2. This Assembly also elected the head of republic and the members of the cabinet.
3. In the ancient Indian republics, there was a perfect judicial system and a perfect system of debating the problems and issues.
4. The administration of the republics in ancient India was carried out in the manner in which the administration of the Buddhist samghas was carried out. In fact, there was a lot of similarity between the administration of the two samghas.
5. In ancient Indian republics, there was a system of local self-government as well.

CHAPTER XVII

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Q. Discuss the composition and the powers of Mantri-Parishad, along with portfolios assigned to each minister ?

Or

Q. Describe briefly the composition, powers and assignments of ministers of the cabinet under republican system of government as well as monarchical system of government in ancient India ?

Ans. Cabinet—*In ancient Indian polity*, there is a detailed description about *Mantri-Parishad* or cabinet. It was this body of the ministers that helped the head of the republic, where he was the President of the republic or the monarch to carry out the administration of the republic. A cabinet minister could not hold office beyond the pleasure of the head of the republic. In this regard, there was a lot of similarity between the cabinet of those days and the cabinet of today. In ancient Indian polity, what we find is that the head of the republic, whether he was President or the monarch, did not rule the republic in a single handed manner. He, on the other hand, ruled with the help of the ministers. This is corroborated from the following lines :—

> "To appreciate the constitutional position of the Council of Ministers, it is necessary to recall the previous history of the Council. The Hindu Council of Ministers was a body and an organism which had differentiated

and branched off from the old National Assembly of Vedic times. In the *Atherva Veda*, as we have already noticed, the Rajakrits are a part of the 'Folk-around', the king who invest him with sovereignty The Rajakrits, or the 'king makers' appear later as Tantmin high functionaries (Commander-in-Chief, treasurer, etc.) whom the king-elect worships before his consecration In worshipping the Ratnins, he does honour to them both as officers of the State and as a representative of the society. Their approval like the approval of the remaining representatives of the Community was solicited before the election of the would-be king. In other words, they are officers but as part of the community, and not as creaters of the crown. This origin is further born out by the technical expression applied to denote their collective body."

Mantri-Parishad or the Council of Ministers and its nomenclature—The Council of Ministers, which has been referred to here as cabinet, has been described by different names in ancient Indian Polity. In Arthasastra of Kautilya, it has been called as President. In Jatakas, the term '*Paresa*' stands for Council of Ministers. In Ashoka's inscriptions, it has been addressed as '*Mahavatsu.*' In Vedic literature, the term 'Parishad' was also used for National Assembly. In Brihadaranakya Upanisad, the term '*Parishad*' has been given to Samiti. When the terms '*Council of Ministers*' or the '*cabinet*' came to be differentiated from Samiti-Parishad, it came to be known as '*Parishd*'.

Importance of the Cabinet or the Council of Ministers—In Vedic age, the ministers were real king-makers. Although the king ruled the republic, who was assisted in the job by the ministers. This prestige of the ministers continued to be so for a pretty long time. Ashoka has called his ministers as '*reigns holders*'. This implied that these ministers were the de-facto rulers of the republic. They held the reigns of the administration. These ministers lost their position only when the king himself was very competent or self-willed.

According to different old books, it was binding on the king to consult his ministers. The status of the ministers was very high, specially in the Vedic times, as is evident from the following lines :—

> "The status of the Ratnis was fairly high ; at the time of the Vajapeya sacrifice, the king had to repair to their houses and not they to his palace in order to offer the so-called Ratnin oblations. They are in one place expressly described as bestowers of kingdom upon the king. Samiti (assembly) in the Vedic age was a powerful body, and it is not likely that the Ratnins might have been selected from amongst its members ; but we have no positive evidence to support this probable conjecture. Nor we know how they functioned ; whether they made a council to advise the king or whether the letter consulted them in their individual capacity."[39]

According to Mahabharat, king is vitally dependent upon ministers as animals are upon clouds, Brahmanas on the Vedas and women upon their husbands.'

According to the Arthasastra of Kautilya, "the king can succeed only if assisted by competent councillors ; one wheel alone does not move a carriage."

According to *Sukre Niti*, "Even an all round king cannot move everything ; different persons have different aptitudes. This king therefore should enlist the help of competent ministers. Otherwise he will ensure the description of himself and his kingdom."

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[39] A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India".

Most of the eminent Hindu Political thinkers have regarded ministry as indispensable for the king and a very vital organ of the body-politics.

According to Brahaspat Sutra, "even a rightful thing (dharma) the king should do only at the advice of the wice. That, for even a lawful action in administration the king must have the authority of expert minister."[40]

Number of the members of the Council and the Cabinet :

At no time was a definite number prescribed for the Council. It varied from time to time. According to *Brahaspati*, as quoted by Kautilya, 'the Council of Ministers' was to consist of 16 members. In *Arthasastra*, it has been laid down that the cabinet should consist of 12 ministers. In fact, *Kautilya* was against laying down a rigid number. According to *Mahabharat*, the cabinet was to consist of 32 members. In short, all of them held the view that the cabinet should not be large.

Membership of the cabinet—Normally, according to ancient political thinkers, cabinet was to consist of the following as members :—

1. The crowned queen and the favourite queen.
2. Purohit or the royal chaplain.
3. The air-apparent or the Yuvaraja

Following were the heads of the departments :—

1. *Senani* or the commander-in-chief
2. *Suta* or the commander of the chariot corps.
3. *Gramani* : He was the most important amongst the village headmen. According to different books, he was to be from the caste of Vaishya.
4. *Sangrahita* or the treasurer.
5. *Bhagadhuka* or the Tax Collector – Invariably he held the post of Finance Member.

Important courtiers as members of the cabinet—Important courtiers of the king were also given the post of membership of the cabinet. They were as follows :—

1. *Kshtta* or the Royal Chamberlain.
2. *Akshavapa* or the Companion of the King at the gambling table or the game-table.
3. **Palagala or the closest companion of the king**—He was like the Vidushaka of the latter times.

Some other members of the cabinet—According to some other books, following were also to be given the place of members of the cabinet :—

1. *Govikartana* or the Officer responsible for the capital wealth of the republic. He was also called 'Govyacha'.
2. **Taksha**—This word has been used for the carpenter.
3. *Rathkary* or the Chariot maker.

It is quite possible that the chief of the guild of carpenters and the chariot makers were given place in the cabinet. These were quite important persons in those days.

Designation of the members of the cabinet—The members of the cabinet in ancient India were designated as follows :—

1. *Panditamatya* or Law Minister.

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[40] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

2. *Sumantra* or Finance Minister.
3. *Mantrin* or Home Minister.
4. *Pradhan* or President of the Council.
5. *Sachiv* or Minister of War.
6. *Amatya* or Minister of Revenue and Agriculture.
7. *Pradvivaka* or Minister for Justice and Chief Justice.
8. *Pratinidhi* or Representative.

The list of these eight ministers has been enumerated in the Sukra Niti.

According to another authority, this list was to include two more ministers, namely :—

1. *Purohit* or Minister of Religion. Invariably he used to be the royal chaplain.
2. *Doota* or Minister of Diplomacy.
3. The *Representative* had precedent over the council and the mantris. He probably represented the people in the cabinet and impressed upon the king the priority to be given to different business in the affairs of the republic.

Inner cabinet—In ancient India, there was also an inner cabinet. This cabinet was, in fact, responsible for the real administration. It normally consists of the following :—

1. Yuvaraja or a prince royal in office. He was called 'Kumar Adhyaksha'.
2. Mantrin or Chief Minister.
3. The king himself.
4. Purohit.
5. Doota.
6. Finance Minister.
7. Senapati.

Powers of the cabinet—The powers of the cabinet differed from age to age. Sometimes these ministers were very powerful and sometimes not so. It depended upon the king and his ability.

According to Mahabharat, this inner cabinet was called '*Mahtrigriha*' or those holding the actual reign of the administration. The number of such ministers has been prescribed as three and upward. In Ashoka's time, '*Rajuka*' or ministers had fullest authority to rule over the public. They had power to administer 'danda' and punishment and also grant mercy.

The class of the ministers—According to Ramayana and Sukra Niti, the ministers have been classified in the following categories :—

1. The superior ministers.
2. The intermediaries.
3. The inferiors.

Status and importance of the ministry—We have already seen that the status of the ministers was pretty high. In fact, ministry was considered essential for good government. As a result of this, even the crowned princes and the viceroys used to have their own council of ministers. This was done in order to get good advice and providing good government.

Scope of the ministry—The scope of the work of the ministry included the entire administration. It was expected to discharge the following duties :—

1. To lay down and enunciate new policies.

2. To execute the new policies and to get them executed successfully.

3. To remove the difficulties that may occur in the implementation of the policy.

4. To direct and supervise the state policy regarding taxation and expenditure.

5. To take steps for proper education under training of the princes.

6. To lay down and direct the foreign policy, both with regard to inernal feudatory kings and independent states.

Division of work—In ancient Indian literature on polity, we do not find any exact distribution of the work among the ministers, but, on the basis of the designation of the ministers and the description of the working, we can very safely conclude that there was distribution of the work among ministers. There were different departments that were assigned to different ministers, each looking after separate department.

According to *Sukra Niti*, the ministry was to consist of ten ministers with the following assignments :—

1. Purohit.
2 Pratinidhi.
3. Pradhan.
4. Sachiv.
5. Mantrin.
6. Pradivivaka.
7. Pandit.
8. Sumant.
9. Amatya.
10. Doota.

Purohit was treated as the Guru of the king. He was expected to bring about the spiritual upliftment of the nation and safeguard the country against the evil influences. He was expected to be well-versed in different branches of knowledge, including Shastra (religious rituals) and shastra *i. e.*, military art. He was expected to carry out the administration in the absence of the king. He would also preside at the coronation of the *yuvaraja*. The influence of the Purohit is seen not only in the literature of the Vedic times but also the literature of the Buddhist period In Jatakas, there is description that he was an important member of the cabinet and was also *'minister, plenipotentially or Sabbatthaka.'*

According to Sukra Niti, he was the head of the ministry.

After 200 A. D., Purohit ceased to be the head or the member of the ministry, yet he continued to wield a lot of influence on the political and social life of the state.

Pratinidhi—According to Sukra Niti, he was second in command only to Purohit. He was also expected to officiate for the king in his absence. It was, therefore, natural for the crowned prince to hold this office. In Jatakas, there is mention of Up-Raja. Probably, it was the crowned prince who was designated so.

Pradhan—He was the premier and the most important member of the cabinet. He was supposed to be incharge of the entire administration. According to Sukra Niti he has been called *'Sarvadarshi'*, meaning thereby that he was supposed to manage all the affairs of the state. On the basis of the history of different dynasties, who ruled over India in different parts, we come to conclusion that the *Pradhan* was the *Prime Minister* or the arch of the cabinet. He occupied a very high position.

Sachiv—He was the Defence Minister of ancient India. Under Mauryas and Marathas, he was known as Senapati He was supposed to be an expert in the art of war.

Mantrin—He was the foreign minister and responsible for all matters dealing with foreign affairs. He has also been designated as '*Mahasandhivigrahika*', *i. e. 'the highest officer incharge of business of war.'* In bigger states, there were more than one officer or minister to cope with the amount of work. He was supposed to be well-versed with the four-fold policy of '*Sama*' (conciliation), '*Damà*' (appeasement or inducement), '*Danda*' (war or forces), '*Bheda*' (causing dissensions in the enemy's camps or the policy of divide and rule). He was also supposed to be very good at drafting of the documents of Sandhi and Vigraha.

Pradivivaka—He was the minister for the law and justice and was expected to know the traditional law or Smriti law and good at sifting the evidence and arriving at a proper judgment.

Pandit—There was in ancient India a separate portfolio for dharma-shastra or religious affairs. Pandit was incharge of this portfolio. He was to be the member of the cabinet and also well versed in the dharma shastra and the religious law. He was there not only to enforce the old text of the laws but also to mould and modify them in accordance with the present day requirements. In other words, he was supposed to give a new complexion to the old system of law, keeping in view the new socio-economic requirements.

Sumanta—He was to be chancellor of Exchequer or the treasure. This very minister has been called Samaharta by Kautilya. He was also called '*Bhandagarika*'. It was his duty to get the taxes collected and keep an idea of the treasury. He was responsible for watering the root of the state.

Amatya—He was to be the Revenue Minister, and incharge of collecting land revenue and doing other jobs connected with that.

Doota—He was a minister without portfolio responsible for carrying the message of the king, to different countries and getting the replies back and also helping the king to carry out negotiations.

Order and salary of the ministers—The order of the precedence of the ministers was the same as enumerated by Sukra. In other words, it means that the succeeding one was lower in status in comparison to the preceding one. It short, it means that Purohit occupied the first place while the Doota the last.

The salaries of the ministers have been laid down only by *Kautilya* in his *Arthasastra*. They were to receive salary only lesser than the king. All other officers received lesser than these people. The salaries differed with the state. It means that the ministers of the bigger states received higher salaries while those of the smaller states received lesser salaries. It was natural because of the revenue of the state concerned. According to Kautilya, Senapati received 48,000 Panas a year while revenue and treasury ministers received 24,000 Panas and 12,000 Panas respectively every year.

Q. Describe briefly the working of the ministry and other departments connected with the cabinet in ancient India ?

Ans. Working of the ministry—In ancient Indian polity, there is no exact description about the working of the ministry. Probably, the authors of the books on ancient Indian polity were very hesitant in writing all these things.

Normally, according to books on ancient Indian polity, the king presided over the council of ministers. But in *Arthasastra,* there is mention of another officer called *'President of the Council'*. All this goes to show that the meetings of the council either the king or one of his minister presided over the cabinet meetings.

Responsibility of the ministry—In ancient Indian polity, we find that there was the element of joint responsibility. The king was supposed to consult the ministers collectively as well as individual or severally. In other words, it means that the ministers were severally as well as collectively responsible for the administration of the state and the policies laid down. On the other hand it also indicates the king was supposed to consult his ministers. The following lines corroborate this thing further :–

> "The minister is the '*Raja-rashtra-bhrit*' or 'the bearer of the responsibility of the king and the state'. The king was consequently bound, as observed already, to follow the dictates of the council, otherwise in the eye of the constitutional law he would cease to be the king. As the Mahabharat put it, he was always '*partantra*' under the control of others (ministers) and never '*swatnatra*' (free)".[41]

King's incapacity to criticise the resolutions of the ministry—The king was bound to accept the decisions carried out by the majority of the council of ministers. The decision of the king, even if taken in extraordinary circumstances, could become the final descision only when the council put its seal on it. According to *Sukra Niti*, the king was Akshama or incapable of criticising the decisions of the council of ministers.

King, the constitutional head only—Although the entire administration was carried out in the name of the king, yet he was only the constitutional head as in the England today. All the decisions were actually carried by the cabinet and put into execution in the name of the king. According to Sukra Niti "the doouments signed and sealed by the king is the king and not the king himself."

Written orders—The king and the ministers were executed to pass orders in writing. They could not pass oral orders only. According to *Sukra Niti*, "a king or an officer who orders or does a business of state without a lekhya (official document) are both thieves at all times."

A king, if he wanted his personal order to be observed, had to take recourse to oral commands According to constitutional implications, these commands were 'thief in law.' They had certain constitutional implications, whether these consequences may follow or not. It was also the duty of ministers and others responsible for carrying out the orders of the king to inform him if his orders were not carried out. The actual working of the ministry and its duties have very nicely been outlined in the following passage :—

> "Details of the routine working of the ministry can be gathered only from the Sukra Niti. Though this is a late work, we may well presume that its account held good of the earlier periods as well. Sukra recommends that each minister should normally have two secretaries, but their number may be increased if the work of the department demands this step. Conversely, if a department was very small, the secretary was often dispensed with. The secretary was often promoted to the position of the minister in due course, if he had proved his capacity by his work and achievement............"

> "Capable and ambitious ministers often held more than one portfolios, a phenomenon not unknown in our own times. Thus in the cabinet of

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[41] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu-Polity.'

king Jayasimaha of Kashmir, Sujji was both the Judicial and the Military Member."

Qualifications, standards and appointment of ministers–Normally, the ministerial appointments were made by the king. These ministers were responsible to the king and indirectly to the public. If a particular minister was popular with people, he normally enjoyed a high position and good reputation. If the king was powerful and self-built, the ministers became ineffective. This sometimes led to conflicts between the ministers and the throne in which sometimes the king came out victorious and sometimes the ministers.

In *Arthashastra*, certain qualifications have been laid down about the ministers. Ministers were expected to possess the following qualifications :—

1. **Loyalty to the throne**—On account of this factor, sometimes a minister was selected from amongst the school fellows of the king and on other occasions from amongst the loyal and trusted families All these things point out to the fact that ministers were expected to be very loyal to the throne.

2. They were supposed to be born of high family, influential and well-trained in arts.

3. The ministers were expected to possess far-sightedness, wisdom, strong memory, etc.

4. They were also expected to be bold, eloquent, intelligent and skilful

5. They were also expected to possess enthusiasm, dignity, endurance and purity of character. No man could be appointed a minister, if he was not affable, affectionate and firm in loyal devotion.

6. These ministers were also expected to possess good physique, health and bravery.

7. Those who suffered from progrestination and ficklemindedness and could exercise hatred and enmity could not become ministers.

Manu and Kautilya have laid down that the king should try to ascertain the qualities of the ministers before appointing them to any post.

Practice of high standard—The ministers were expected to conform to the high standards or public behaviour. Even today it is expected of them and normally ministers conform to these high standards of public behaviour, but they went down when the kings themselves had the vices like ficklemindedness, shortsightedness, etc.

Element of heredity—Certain writers on Hindu Polity have laid down that persons belonging to the royal family or belonging to the families of the ministers should be elected as ministers. This is what we find mention in Smritis and Nitis.

Military leadership—Ministers were expected to possess military leadership. They were expected to be good at the art of fighting ; specially this was applicable in case of Defence Minister or so, but it was not a univeral principle.

Representation of the castes—In Smritis, it has been laid down that preference should be given to Brahmanas in appointment as ministers. Brahmanas in those days were supposed to be the intellectual leaders of the society and so they were expected to rule the state and tender proper advice to the king.

In Mahabharat, there is a description about the principle of representation from each sphere in the council of ministers. In short, it may be said that in ancient India different castes were given representation in the council of ministers.

Status of the ministers—Normally, the kings held their ministers in high esteem. Although the responsibility for arriving at such a decision lay with the king, yet it was invariably arrived at with the help of the ministers. It was expected that the king and the ministers were to act like a body. They could not pull in different directions. There were ministers who took a vow to die with their kings. They also exercised a wholesale influence on the king, which invariably was in the interest of the state or the country.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient Indian policy, there is a detailed description about the cabinet and its working.

2. In ancient India, the cabinet was addressed by several names. It was called Parishad, Samiti, Parsia, Mahavatsu, etc.

3. In the Vedic age, the ministers were the real king-makers. Although the king ruled, yet the real power vested in the ministers.

4. According to Sukra Niti and Brahaspati Sutra, the cabinet is essential for the king. The membership of the cabinet was given to the members of the royal family and other important persons of the age, and therefore the crowned queen and the favourite queen, the Purohit, the Yuvaraja, and the heads of the departments of military, village administration, treasury, etc. used to be the members of the cabinet in ancient India.

5. Important courtiers were also appointed members of the cabinet.

6. In different ages, different designations were given to ministers incharge of different departments.

7. Apart from the cabinet, there was also the practice of having a kitchen cabinet or an inner cabinet in the interest of efficiency and secrecy. This cabinet normally consisted of eight important members who had direct link with the administration of the state.

8. Cabinet was treated with great respect by the king. It also depended upon the king. If he was a self-willed tyrant, he would not respect the cabinet.

9. The ministers were of three categories :—

   (*a*) The superiors.
   (*b*) The intermediaries.
   (*c*) The inferiors.

10. It was the cabinet that laid down the policies of the state and also tried to get them executed.

11. There was division of work among different ministers.

12. The king presided over the meetings of the cabinet. Sometimes, a person other than the king, presided over the meetings of the cabinet.

13. The ministry in ancient India also worked on the principle of joint responsibility. The collective decisions of the cabinet could not be overruled by the king.

14. Only those persons who satisfied certain qualifications like loyalty to the throne, ability, high standards of honesty and integrity could be appointed as ministers.

15. In the appointment of the ministers, the element of heredity also worked.

16. There was representation of different castes in the cabinet. This is what we find in Mahabharat.

17. Military leadership never found an important place in the cabinet.

18. In short, it may be said that in ancient India, cabinet was the real ruler, although it carried out the administration in the name of the king.

CHAPTER XVIII

SABHA AND SAMITI

Q. What do you know about the Sabha and Samiti of Vedic period? Explain.

Or

Q. Describe briefly the nature, importance and working of Sabha and Samiti?

Ans. Sabha and Samiti—Today we have a democratic system in India In such a system, it is the legislature that is the sovereign body. It consists of the representatives of the people. For the administration of the entire country, we have a Parliament, which consists of the two Houses, namely, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha The President is a part of this Parliament. The entire legislative power of the country or the sovereignty vests in the President and the Parliament. Ministers or the cabinet formed a part of this Parliament. This is true of a state administration as well. In different states, there are legislature —unicameral and bicameral. The sovereignty vests in this legislature and the administration is carried out in the name of the Governor or Rajyapal, who, constitutionally speaking, forms a part of the legislature. In ancient India also, specially in the Vedic period, there were such assemblies. For every village, there was a Sabha and the capital of the state had a Samiti. This Samiti was the Central Assembly for the whole of the state

King and Samiti and Sabha—In ancient India, specially in the Vedic period, there was an element of election in the kingship. Although he ruled the whole of the country, yet he was guided by the institutions of Samiti and Sabha. These two institutions enjoyed a very high position in the Vedic period as is evident from the following lines :—

> "*Sabha* and *Samitis* enjoyed a high prestige in the Vedic age. They are in one place described as the twin daughters of Prajapati, the Creator. This suggests that the people regarded both the assemblies almost as divine institutions of hoary antiquity and are most coevel with the political life of the community if not with the community itself."

Vidhata Sabha and Samiti. These three terms refer to certain forms of assemblies. What they were actually is difficult to explain today. It is beyond doubt that these bodies had something to do with the administration. Modern scholars have not been able to arrive at a unanimity in regard to the meaning of these terms and functions of these bodies. According to *Ludwig*, Sabha was like the Upper House or Rajya Sabha of the modern days in which priests, businessmen and other rich men got the representation while Samiti was like the Lok Sabha or House of Commons.

Zimmer, on the other hand, holds the view that Sabha was the village assembly resembling the village panchayat of today while Samiti was the Central Assembly resembling the State Assembly of today.

Hillebrand is of the view that Sabha and Samiti were the samething. According to him, Samiti was the assembly while Sabha was the meeting place.

Vidhata—Vidhata, according to some of the scholars, was something like a religious gathering. This term seems to have been derived from the root 'vid', which means 'to know'. It was, probably, a gathering of the learned persons. According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, "Vidhata seems to be derived from the root 'vid' to know and probably, indicated religious or sacrificial gathering, rituals at which required the highest knowledge. Apparently it was a big assembly, probably representing the entire tribe, because there are references to people being arranged there by groups, and dancing. Women took active part in the Vedic sacrifices in early time and they seemed to be prominent in the Vidhata. Though in some rare passages kings are represented as attending the Vidhata, the latter body is rarely seen taking in active part in the administration "

Sabha—We have already seen that it has been described as 'a sister of Samiti and one of the two daughters of Prajapati.' It was also a popular body. In the Vedas, their is prayer for co operation in this Sabha. It means that people wanted this popular body to work in a united manner.

Composition of the Sabha—Sabha and Samiti had some relationship but what was the nature of exact relationship, is ont yet known. Probably it consisted of certain selected persons who were entrusted with the task of running the political administration.

President—Sabhapati was the President of the Sabha. Then, there were the members of the Sabha, who was the Elders or the city fathers responsible for the working of the state. The following lines clarify this thing further :—

> "Probably it (Sabha) was a standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of this Samiti. Sabha means, lit., 'a body of men shining together.' Those entitled to a seat therein were invested, so to say, with lustre. They are pointedly alluded too. They were objects of special respects. The Sabha had its President, called Sabhapati. It seems there were elders 'in the Sabha.' We meet with Elders and 'fathers of councils in other ancient bodies holding executive authority. Reference to the "fathers" in the........hymn is probably to the Fathers or Elders in the Sabha, a view which Sayana alternatively puts forward."

Resolutions and decisions of the Samiti - Resolutions and decisions of the Sabha were binding on all. They were invoilable. In fact, they were arrived at after a good deal of deliberations and discussions. There was a democratic procedure in the Sabha.

Functions of Sabha—Sabha discharged several functions and one of them was the judicial one. Really speaking, Sabha acted as the national judicature or the highest seat of justice. Probably it resembled Privy Council of England. In Yajurveda as well as Jatakas, there is mention about this function of the Sabha.

Sabha : An institution of the Vedic age—In Vedic literature, the term 'Sabha' has been used in different senses. It has been used to denote a place of meeting and also an organisation of constitutional importance. It was, in fact, a political institution.

Sabha in the post-Vedic period—In the post Vedic period, almost all the institutions of the Vedic period changed. This happened with Sabha as well.

According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, Sabha was a village assembly. This is what he has said in this regard :—

> "It would thus appear that the *Sabha* was primarily the village social club, but the few items of the simple *village* of the age were also transacted thereby its members, when it was necessary to dispose of them. These probably included steps for the annual safety and decisions in the matters of the village disputes."

It was not only a social gathering. It had a political status as well. The members of the Sabha enjoyed high status and representation. The following lines corroborate this point further :—

"A passage in the Atharvaveda describe how the *Sabhasads* (members of

> Sabha) of God Yama were royal is status and entitled to share the sixteenth part of the merit accuring to that deity. It is possible to argue that the status of the members of the terrestrial Sabha, like that of celestial one, was also almost as high as that of the king and that they too were entitled to receive a small share of the titles and tributes that were paid to the rulers. It is, however, not impossible that the Sabha referred to improve the cabinet or ministry of the earthly king also; and the description of a member of the Sabha as a person possessing considerable wealth (consisting of the king of course) and going to the sabha in his full paraphernalia, riding on a charger or seated in a carriage would confirm that hypothesis. The balance of available evidence, however, tends to show that sabha was usually the village assembly, meeting for social as well as political purposes."[42]

Samiti—It has been described as the sovereign assembly that represented the will of the people. It was the national assembly of the whole people. It had the right to elect or re-elect the king. The whole of the people were supposed to be present in the assembly.

Constitution of the Samiti—Although in the Samiti it was expected that the whole of the people shall be present, it did not, however, mean that for the meeting of the Samiti the presence of all the residents of the village or the assembly was essential. Gramani was the leader of the village and the keystone of the village constitution. He presided over the meetings of the Samiti. Its constitution has been nicely described in the following lines :—

> "It is clear, as observed above, that the whole people were considered to be present in the Samiti. But when, for instance, Svetaketu goes to the Samiti of the panchashalas where philosophers and statesmen were sitting, it would be hardly probable that the whole nation, without any principle of representation, would be actually present. We already find in the Vedic period the principle of representation appreciated and variously acted upon."

Functions of the Samiti—On the basis of different references, the functions of the Samiti may be described as below. Without any doubt, the samiti exercised a lot of influence over the administration :—

1. Samiti elected the Rajana or the king. It implied that it could re-elect a king or dethrone him. In this sense, it was the sovereigh body.
2. It carried out deliberations about different functions of the state.

King and the samiti—King used to attend the meetings of the samiti. In fact, it was the duty of the king to attend the samiti. At the time of the coronation, the king had to present himself before the samiti. In short, it may be said that the king could not disregard the wishes of the samiti.

Deliberation and discussions—In these samitis, there was freedom of speech and people could express their point of view freely. However, when the decisions were reached, they had to be followed faithfully.

President of the Samiti—There was the President of the samiti. He was called Samiti Samitipati or Samiti Isana. It was he who conducted the deliberations of the samiti.

Samiti—an institutions of the developed society—Samiti was an institution of the developed Vedic age. The very fact that deliberations were carried out in the samitis indicates that by that time the society had developed a lot.

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[42] A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India".

Non-political business of the Samiti—In samiti certain items, other than political, were also discussed. Philosophic deliberations were also carried out in the meeting of these samitis. There are several anecdotes in Upanisads that testify this point. It was also a national academy.

Samitis in historical retrospect—Samitis that dominated the political scene of the Vedic period, did not live a very long life after the Vedic period. After Vedic period, they disappeared. They did not have their existence during the period of the Jatakas or 600 B. B. In republics they continued to enjoy a political status but in imperial monarchies their status dwindled This is what we find in the following lines.:—

> "Emergence of extensive states with large rural areas and dispersed population rendered the meeting and functions of a central popular assembly difficul. Representation system was unknown, and so on assembly could meet only when it was a small body with members living not far from the capstal. This was no longer possible in large state. While members found it difficult to meet and work in the new circumstances, the kings of the ever-growing kingdoms were always eager and anxious to grab all powers in their own hands. It was but natural that under such circumstances *Sabhas* and *Samitis* should have gradually died down."

CONCLUSIONS

1. In the Vedic period of the democratic administration, there were three bodies, namely :—
   (*a*) Vidhata.
   (*b*) Sabha.
   (*c*) Samiti.
2. Vidhata was nothing but an institution of intellectual and social gathering. It did not have much political potentiality in it.
3. Sabha and Samiti were the institutions of a developed Vedic society.
4. Both these institutions were political in character. They, of course, had other functions as well to discharge.
5. Sabha was the village assembly while Samiti was the Central Assembly.
6. The jurisdiction of the Sabha was limited to a small area while Samiti governed a larger area.
7. These bodies functioned in the Vedic period when the king himself was elected by the Samiti.
8. With the growth of imperialism, these institutions lost their significance.

CHAPTER XIX

PAURA AND JANAPADA

Q. Examine critically the Paura-Janapada theory of Dr. Jayaswal ?

Or

Q. What do you understand by Paura-Janapada ? Describe briefly their constitution and functions ?

Ans. Paura-Janapada—These two institutions grew into institutions of political importance as a result of impact of the two political institutions, namely Sabha and Samiti. The shape that these political institutions assumed have been described as Paura and Janapada in post-Vedic literature. This is what *Dr. A. S. Altekar* has to say about this in his book 'State and Government in Ancient India' :—

> "K. P. Jayaswal has, however, argued at great length that the *Sabha* and *Samitis* of the Vedic age did not disappear without leaving their successor in the body politics of the later period. They were known as Paura-Janapadas and figure frequently in literature and sometimes in inscriptions. The true significance of this expression was however altogether missed by modern writers. While it is true that Paura-Janapadas often denote the inhabitants of town and villages, that comprised a kingdom, it should be remembered that the expression, when specially used in the Neuter-singular as Paura-Janapadam, denotes a constitutional body consisting of the representatives of the capital and the country."

Growth of monarchies—In the post and also latter Vedic period, small republics and states started growing into large monarchies. In fact, a tendency of imperialism grew. As the monarchies of the Vedic period, namely, *Sabha* and *Samiti* started twining. The term 'Jana' which in the Vedic period meant a nation or a state assumed a different connotation. So was the case with Janapada which originally meant the seat of the nation and which had been secondarily used as denoting the nation itself.

Large monarchies and growth of new political institutions—Between 600 B. C. and 600 A. D., as a result of the growth of big monarchies, new political institutions came into being. Now 'the capital (Pura) and the country (Janapada) assumed greater political significance. For Pura the terms 'Nagar' and 'Durga' (fort) have also been used. It has been because the fort was probably situated in the capital of the kingdom which invariably was a city.

For Janapada, the terms '*Rashtra*', and '*Daisha*', have also been used.

Janapada has been derived from the term 'Janapada', a term that has been frequently used in Pali scriptures, Ramayana, Mahabharat, etc. It is a technical term which 'means the whole area of a kingdom, minus the capital constitutionally.'

It was a collective institution. If it has been used as a singular term, it is wrong. The term 'Janapada' was a plural and can very well be judged from the verses of Ramayana, specially those of Ayodhya Kanda, where we find a description of Paura, Janapada and the Naigama as waiting for Rama's consecration.

Meaning of Janapada as a plural term—Janapada as a plural term denotes the members of the Janapada institutions as well as the people of the Janapada. There was also a body of this name. It is evident from the use of this term in a singular sense. There also it has been used in a collective sense. It means that there was a corporate body by the name of Janapada.

In *Manava Dharmasastra* as well, there is description about the recognition of the laws of Janapada. In ancient Indian literature on polity, Janapada has been used as a technical term denoting an institution like Gana or Sreni. In Brahaspati Niti also, we find the use of this term. What Janapada stood for can very well be judged from the followingli nes :—

> "......the Janapad of Manu and Yajyayalakya and Daish-Samgha of Manu and Kautilya are identical. The corporate association Janapada or Daish-Samgha, as the name signifies, was a body of the whole country (except as we shall presently see the capital)."[43]

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[43] K. P. Jayaswal 'Hindu Polity'.

Janapada seals—Excavations have brought forward several seals of the Janapadas. These seals were of these corporate bodies.

Janapada synonymous with Rashtra—In latter works, like Dasakumaracharita, the terms 'Janapada' has been used as synonymous for rashtra and the President of the Janapada has been called rashtra Mukhiya. This evidence is further corporated by Mitramisra's commentary on Yajyavalakya and Viramitrodaya. This is also corroborated from the following lines :—

> "..............that Janapadas dharmas are indentical with Daish-dharma. Katyayana defines the latter as those of countries which are generally expected and which do not go counter to the rules of Sruti and Smriti. It is these provincial customs that are referred to as daish-dharma in the Arthasastra of Kautilya also".[44]

Paura—According to *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal*, Paura is nothing but the capital assembly. It is a twin sister of Janapada in constitutional matters. These two terms have been mentioned together and sometimes they have also become as identical. What Paura stood for has been nicely described in the following lines :—

> "Paura does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both Indians and Europeans. Earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical Paura and Nagara, 'the Capital'. Paura as a corporate body is mentioned in the singular like Janapada in the inscription of Kharavela c. 170 B. C., who granted privileges to the Paura. In the corporate sense it is clearly mentioned again in the Divyavadana where Kunala is supposed to have entered the Paura (used in singular, that is, the Paura assembly). Tishyarakshita addressed her forged letter, according to the Divyavadana, to the Pauras, *i. e.*, an organised body. The author of the Viramitrodaya definitely states that the Paura, which occurs along with corporate bodies in the law-books, was 'the body (samuha) of the citizens of the capital (Pura)'. Pura meant the capital. Samuha is a well-known constitutional term in Hindu law. Katyayana, for instance, defines puga, which according to the accepted interpretation means a 'guild' as the 'samuha of merchants and others'. Brihaspati, the lawyer, describes bodies already known to us to have been assembly ruled organisations, *e. g.*, 'puga', 'gana', samgha as samuhastha vargas or 'bodies incorporated'. Mitramisra quotes a text based upon Bhrigu which calls grama, paura, gana and sreni, 'vargins,' *i. e.*, what Brhaspati has as 'samuhastha vargas' (grama here is not the village but the Village Association as Chandesvara the lawyer of Mithila defines : Gramo grama-vasi-samuhah). Chandesvara explains samuhasthah by 'militah', 'combined'. Katyayana speaks of separate laws of the samuhas. Samuha which ordinarily means a collection has thus, a technical, constitutional sense—an organized body.[45]

Paura—Municipal administration—Paura was an association of a community in which the municipal administration of the capital was also vested. It was like corporation that enjoyed municipal as well as constitutional powers.

Municipal administration of the Paura was carried out in the following manner :—

1. **President—a leading citizen**—The President of the municipal corporation of Paura was normally a leading citizen, belonging to the business class. He was like a mayor of today and called 'Sreshthin' or the President of the Paura.

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[44] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'

[45] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

2. There were *two sections or chambers of the council of Paura or Paura-Parishad*, one was the inner one and the other one was the outer one. We hear of Paura and Nagar Vridhas. Paura Vridhas were the council of the Elders, which was the inner body.

The Paura Parishad consisted of the representatives of the people.

Registrar—Every Paura had a registrar, who was known as Chief of the Laukik lekhas or public documents. He was different from a government employee or a Rajkiya Lekha Adhikari. This indicates that Paura was not a body appointed by the king. It had an independent status.

Non-political functions of Paura—Apart from the political functions, the Paura performed certain non-political functions. They included the following:—

1. **Administration of the states**—This included looking after the property of the state as well as deceased public men.

2. Doing work for the welfare and material strength of the citizens, or Paushtic Krityas.

3. Jobs connected with the peace (shanti) of the city. These were called Santik Karmas.

4. **Judicial works**—Pauras discharged the functions connected with municipal administration. Paura court was also recognised by the king, although criminal matters were beyond the authority of this institution.

5. **Charge of sacred and public places**—Pauras were entrusted with the task of looking after the public places. In this regard, they discharged the functions of the municipal corporations.

Paura-Janapada also performed certain political functions. They shall be discussed in the next page.

Paura administration, an example of decentralization of power as judged from the administration of Pataliputra—Paura-Janapada administration, in fact, represented the municipal government or the decentralization of the power. Magasthenese and Strabo have described this thing on the basis of the administration of Pataliputra. The city was looked after by a 'city magistrate.' He was different from Nagaraka, described by Kautilya in Arthasastra.

Administration of the Pataliputra—paura—The city Magistrate carried out the administration with the help of certain boards. They were six in number and each board consisted of five members. Each board looked after one of the following jobs :—

1. Industrial matters.
2. Foreigners and their property.
3. Registration of births and deaths.
4. Trade and commerce.

When all the 30 members of six boards met, it was the full board. Quorum for such meetings was 3, 5, 10, 20 and upwards. This was like the inner council or the municipal council of today. The outer council consisted of probably larger number of peoples.

Varga—In those days township or grams were called Vargas. There is description about them in Mahabharat, Dharmasastra, etc.

Coins—In those days Pauras had golden coins. They were minted in the royal mint.

Niagama—The city merchants formed their guild, which was called Niagama. Sometimes this term has also been used for Paura. Probably, Pauras were born out of Niagamas. Niagama and Paura were two different organisations, yet the relationship between the two was quite intimate. In Janapada and Pauras, the interests of the merchants was given priority and so the names of these institutions have been confused with each other.

Niagamas had their own assembly hall and offices where they held their meetings. These Niagamas had their own coins. These coins were also minted in the royal mint.

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF PAURA-JANAPADA

Q. Describe briefly the political functions of Janapada and Paura.

Ans. Political status of Paura-Janapadas—Paura-Janapadas were political and constitutional institutions. In the literature dealing with ancient Indian Polity, we find that these institutions enjoyed a good deal of power and position. They had to decide several matters about the affairs of the state and also carry them out. The following lines throw light on the constitutions position of the Paura-Janapada :—

> "In all constitutional matters we find the Paura always appearing with Janapada. The *Paura* had thus a double character, as a local self-administration of the capital and a constitutional assembly. The latter function they sometimes discharged, as we shall see, by themselves, specially in provincial capitals. Matters of importance were discussed and decided in a joint parliament of the two bodies, the Janapada and the Paura. Their unity then is so complete that the two bodies are regarded as one and referred to as one in the singular."

Appointment of Yuvaraja or king assistant—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal is of the view that the Pauras and the Janapads, along with the Brahmanas, made the appointment of the Yuvaraja or the king assistant. Dr. Altekar does not agree with this theory. He is of the view that the Yuvaraja was appointed by the king himself, of course, in consultation with the ministers and the theory about the appointment of the Yuvaraja in consultation with the Paura Janapada is due to a mistaken notion of the ministers.

Nomination of the crowned prince and taking part in Abhisheka as peoples' representative—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has also put forward the view that Paura-Janapada advised the king about the appointment of the crowned prince and also took part in the Abhisheka as the representative of the people. They could even stop the succession.

Participation in other royal ceremonies—Members of Paura Janapada took part in other ceremonies about the throne and the royal affairs.

Deposition of the king or interference into succession—Paura Janapada had the power to stop coming over of an undesirable prince to the throne. They could also bring about the deposition of a king if he did not discharge his duties faithfully.

Political discussions in Paura Janapada—Paura Janapada had a political status as well. They carried out political discussions. On the basis of these discussions, the king tried to discharge his functions.

Appointment of the Chief Mantrin—According to Mahabharat, Paura Janapada had power to advise the king about the appointment of the Chief Minister. It also had power to advise the king in regard to the state policy.

Taxation and the Paura Janapada—Paura Janapada had certain powers about taxation. Taxes could be levied only with the permission of the Paura Janapada. This is what we find in Arthasastra The king, if he wanted to impose some tax, had to put forward the proposals before the Paura Janapada. It was the system like the one prevalent in America where the President has to put forward his proposals before the Congress and gets its sanction

Privileges of Paura Janpada—Paura Janapada had certain privileges These privileges were termed as 'Anugrahas'. They were mostly economic in character.

Daily business of the Paura Janapada with the king—On the basis of the literature dealing with ancient Indian Polity, we find that Paura Janapada had to do the day-to-day business of the king. The king was expected to devote some time every day to the work of the Paura Janapada

Executive work of the Paura Janapada—Paura Janapada had certain executive duties to perform. These dealt with the execution of the orders. Certain arrangements could be imposed only after seeking the permission of the Paura Janapada.

Religious duties of Paura Janapada—Paura Janapada also helped the kings to discharge certain religious. These duties included advising the kings on religious matters. Ashoka consulted Janapada on his new dharma.

Destiny of the government rested in the hands of Paura Janapada—Paura Janapada could make or mar the fate of the government. If Paura Janapadas were dissatisfied, they could bring about an end of the government.

Asking the king to compensate the loss suffered by the people—Paura Janapada could ask the king to make good the loss suffered by people due to theft and other such things. King could not overrule the Janapada in this regard.

Constitution of the Janapada—Members of the Paura and Janapada came from respectable sections of the society. They were either rich business men or other respectable people.

Paura consisted of representatives of different associations or societies. People of different trades had their representatives in Paura.

Laws of Janapada and Paura—The resolutions of Janapada and Paura become laws. They were to be executed and carried out. The real picture of Paura Janapada has been summed up in the following lines :—

> "To sum up, we had an organism or a twin organism, the Paura Janapada which could depose the king, who nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprised by the king of the policy of the state decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and backed by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial, commercial and financial privilege for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to the provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact statutes, even hostile to the king, even who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king—an organism that these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be justified in calling the Hindu Diet."

CONCLUSIONS

1. Paura Janapadas were very important institutions of ancient India.
2. They were like the Parliament that conduct different types of business.
3. These institutions carried out political as well as constitutional functions.
4. These institutions were like the Parliament and the State Assemblies in which special interests of the society were represented.
5. Once upon a time, these institutions were so important that the king could not disregard their advice.
6. With the passage of time, these institutions lost their importance and went into oblivion.

CHAPTER XX

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Describe briefly the village administration in ancient India

Or

Q. "In ancient India the village assistant was the entire edifice of national culture, prosperity and administration " Justify this observation on the basis of Vedic literature, Jatakas, Manusmriti and Kautilya's Arthasastra.

Ans. Village administration and its importance—India is a country of the villages. Even today 80 per cent of the Indian population resides in villages. Condition in ancient India was more or less the same. Village administration in ancient India was, therefore, quite important. The following lines bear this out :—

> "Since earliest times, the village has been the pivot of administration in India. Its importance was naturally very great in an age when communications were slow and industrialization unknown. Town played a relatively unimportant part in ancient Indian life ; the Vedic hymns frequently pray for the prosperity of the villages, but rarely for that of the towns and cities. While describing the prosperity of a kingdom, Jatakas proudly give the large number of prosperous villages included in it, but altogether oblivious to the existence of the towns and cities that may have flourished in it".[46]

Village Headman or Mukhiya—In ancient India, village administration was carried out under the directions of the village headman, who was called Mukhiya. In Vedic literature, he has also been called as Gramani. There used to be only one headman who enjoyed that post by virtue of heredity.

Functions of the Village Headman—Village headman or Mukhiya was an important officer of administration in ancient India. In fact, he was the central figure of the village administration. He carried out the following functions :—

1. **Acted as the head of the village officers.**
2. **Defence of the village**—It was the headman who was entrusted with the task of the defence of the village. He was incharge of the village defence and watch and ward.

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[46] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India',

3. **Collection of government revenue**—Village headman was entrusted with the task of collection of government revenue from the residents of the village.

4. **Head of the village administration and custodian of record**—Village headman presided over the deliberations of the village sabha or Parliament. He was also the custodian of the record.

Most influential person in the village—Mukhiya or the village headman was the most influential person in the village. He looked after the welfare of the residents of the village.

Link between the central administration and the people—The village mukhiya acted as a link between the people of the village and the central administration.

Village Accounted—Every village had a Village Accountant as well. He maintained the accounts of the village revenue. In '*Sukra Niti*' other officers have also been mentioned in this respect.

Village Assembly or Gram Sabha—Every village had an assembly in which all respectable house-holders were entitled to become members. This primary assembly met to decide the problems of the village.

Executive Committee—There was also an Executive Committee of the village assembly. This consisted of the important persons of the village. It was known as '*Village Panchayat*'.

Village primary assembly consisted of all the residents of the village. This has been mentioned in Jatakas.

Functions of the village assembly and the village councils or Executive—Village assembly and councils discharged different types of functions. The description of the working of these bodies in case of the *Agrahara villages* throws ample light on the working of the institutions.

Sub-Committees—The administration of the village was carried out by the five sub-committees of the Sabha. These sub-committees had the members of the village assembly on it. All of them worked in an honorary capacity. Those persons who did not have good reputation and character could not become members of these committees. Like the present day qualifications and disqualifications of the members of the village panchayats and assemblies, qualifications and disqualifications were laid down about the members of the village assemblies.

Constitution of the village assemblies—Every assembly had its own constitution. This constitution laid down the number of the members of the sub-committees.

Annual Committee (Samvatsastra-Variyam)—This committee was there to supervise the working of the sub-committees. Only experienced elders, who had served on sub-committees, could be eligible for the membership of this body.

Village administration in different periods of history—Village administration differed from age to age. What was true of village administration in the Vedic period, could not be true about it in the Gupta period. With the change in time, village administration changed. Let us examine the village administration as given by different political philosopher.

Village administration according to Manu—Manu was of the view that the nation should be divided into small units, so that village administration could be carried out in an effective and efficient manner. These villages were the units of administration. In Manu Smriti, there is also description of the village headman or Mukhiya. It was he who looked after the village administration.

Village administration according to Kautilya—Kautilya in his '*Arthasastra*' has given a vivid description about the. village administration. He has treated the village as the unit of *Janapada*. He has also mentioned the village headman called Gramik. He was the Mukhiya or the headman who carried out the administration of the village. He was assisted in this task by the elders of the village..

Panchagrami and Dasagrami—In *Arthasastra*. we find the description of two other officers responsible for village administration, namely, Panchagrami and Dasagrami. According to "*Kautilya*', Panchagramies were responsible for the administration of five villages while Dasagrami were responsible for the administration of ten villages

He has also described about the administration of 200 villages Then there is description of an officer appointed by the Central Government to look after the village administration

Village administration during Gupta period—Up to the Maurya period, the village administration of the Vedic period continued. There was very little change. After Mauryan period, certain changes took place. These changes blossomed fully during the Gupta period. During Gupta period, village administration assumed a scientific form. During this period there was a village council or Gram Sabha Then, there were sub-committees of this Sabha. These sub-committees looked after the administration of the village There were definite qualifications and disqualifications laid down for the membership of these sub-committees

Functions of Gram Sabhas—Gram Sabhas or village. councils were mainly responsible for the welfare of the villages. They discharged functions having bearing on public utility. These functions included the following :—

1. To bring forest and waste lands under cultivation in order to increase the wealth of the villages.
2. Construct, organise and maintain irrigation facilities
3. Build, maintain and look after the roads wells and tanks for providing drinking water to the villages.
4. To look after the spiritual development of the people of the villages.

Sources of revenue—These village Panchayats had definite sources of revenue. These sources of revenue in many respects were quite akin to the modern sources of revenue. Following, amongst others, were the sources of revenue :—

(a) Certain percentage of the revenue collected in the villages.

(b) Fines imposed on the defaulting villagers.

(c) Taxes levied by the village councils etc.

Meetings of the village councils—Although no definite description is available about the procedure of the meetings of the village councils, yet from various sources, it can be gathered that the village councils had a definite procedure about holding the meetings.

Central control—The Central Government or the central administration did exercise control over the village administration. In spite of the central control, the initiative was left with the village Panchayat. This is what Dr. A. S. Altekar has to say in this regard :—

> "It will be thus seen that the Central Government exercised only a general supervision and control over the village assemblies and their councils. It left the initiative to the village councils which enjoyed much powers.

> They made effective arrangements for the defence of the community, collected the taxes of the Central Government and levied their own, settled village disputes, organised work of public utility and recreation, functioned as trustees and bankers, raised public loans to mitigate the miseries of famines, organised schools, colleges and poor houses and arranged for their funds, and supervised the manifold religious and cultural activities of the temples. There can be no doubt that they exercised greater powers than those that are at present enjoyed by the local bodies in most countries, both of the East and of the West. They played an important and creditable part in defending the interests of the villagers and in promoting their material, moral and intellectual progress".[47]

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, village occupied an important place in the administration. It is quite natural because India is essentially a country with rural background.

2. In ancient India, Mukhiya used to be the village headman.

3. The village headman or Mukhiya carried out the following functions :—
   (a) Acted as head of the village administration.
   (b) Looked after the defence of the village.
   (c) Collected government revenue.
   (d) Acted as custodian of the records.

4. Mukhiya was the most important and influential person in the village and he acted as a link between the central administration and the people.

5. Other than the village headman, there was a village accountant.

6. Every village in ancient India had a village assembly or gram sabha.

7. Every citizen of the village was a member of this body.

8. In every village, there was an executive committe.

9. Village assembly and the executive committee discharged different types of functions.

10. There were different sub-committees for different aspects of the administration.

11. Every village assembly had its own constitution.

12. There was an annual committee or Samvatsara Variyama that supervised the working of the sub-committees.

13. Village administration in different ages differed according to the requirements of the age.

14. Manu has laid down that the entire administration of the country should be divided into small units consisting of the villages

15. According to Kautilya, village administration was the smallest unit of the administration of the country.

16. According to Arthasastra, there were units consisting of five villages and ten villages that looked after the administration of that area. It has also given description of 200 villages.

17. The village administration, as seen during the Vedic period, continued to be so, till the Mauryan period. Village administration changed during the Gupta period.

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[47] A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India".

18. Gram Sabhas carried out the following functions :—
    (*a*) Increase the agricultural area.
    (*b*) Provide and increase irrigation facilities.
    (*c*) Bring about the development of the means of communication.
    (*d*) Look after the spiritual development of the people.
19. Following were the sources of revenue of the village administration :—
    (*a*) Certain percentage of revenue collected from the village.
    (*b*) Fines imposed on the defaulting villages.
    (*c*) Taxes levied.
20. Village Councils met according to definite procedure.
21. Central Government exercised control over the administration of the village.

CHAPTER XXI

DHARMA AND JURISPRUDENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. "Hindu state recognised the supremacy of Dharma but not a Theocracy ?" Discuss this statement.

Or

Q. What are the main features of Hindu Jurisprudence and how did the judicial system functioned in ancient India ?

Ans. Dharma—In India dharma or religion always occupied a very important place in the life of the nation. It was more so in ancient India. In those days everything was guided by dharma or religion, but dharma in those days did not mean only particular mode of worship. It meant sum total of the ideas about life or philosophy of life. It occupied such an important place in life of the nation that the king at the time of the coronation, took oath to follow the principles of religion. It is on account of this that any Dharmasastra, there is a separate chapter that deals with the duties and functions of the king. In order to be able to understand the real significance of dharma or religion, it is necessary to follow the real meaning of dharma. Dharma does not mean rules and regulations about a particular mode of worship. It means much more than that. It includes the religion as well as other rules and regulations about morality and moral way of life. It has been derived from the Sanskrit root "Dhri." It has been called "the power" or "shakti". There is nothing superior to dharma or religion in Hindu way of life. Dharma is the guiding star of the society and the way of life. It is on account of dharma that it is possible for a weak man to rule over strong. It has been regarded as superior to physical as well as martial power.

Dharma or religion and duty—Some ancient Indian thinkers have laid down that dharma is another name of duty, or duty is included in dharma. This is true to a very great extent. According to Sukracharya, the prime duty of the king is to protect the saint and bring about the destruction of the wicked person.

Dharma according to Kautilya—According to Kautilya, dharma has been used in the following three senses :—

(*a*) Dharma or religion has to mean the social obligations and duties.

(*b*) Dharma or religion has to include the moral duties or rules and regulations about morality, based on truthfulness.

(*c*) Dharma or religion has to mean the civil way of life.

Dharma and the king—It has been laid down in the scriptures that the king must fulfil the obligations imposed upon him by religion. Kautilya has, therefore, prescribed the daily routine of the king. He has also laid down that the first method of settling a dispute should be the religion. Similarly, Kautilya has enjoined upon the king to look after his people and try to provide them with the maximum facilities and benefits.

Some of the ancient Indian thinkers have laid down that because the religion occupied the highest place in the society in ancient India, people have confused religion with the law or justice. They have further added that on account of this, the law has been given the highest place. According to Dr. Jayaswal, in ancient India, religion or dharma occupied the highest place. In the administration of state as well, it was the religion that guided all the actions of the king or the administrator. But the events of history do not corroborate this assumption. Religion has not been included in the elements of the state. It does not find a place in the seven elements of the state. It, therefore, very clearly indicates that though religion occupied a very important place, yet the ancient Indian states were not theocratic. Religion in ancient India did not mean only mode of worship. It meant more than that. It included morality, truthfulness, duty and many other things. In ancient India, or Hindu India, there was no religious book according to which the state was administered. In this respect Hindu India was different from the Muslim rule where Quaran formed the basis for administration. No Muslim ruler could go beyond the way of administration prescribed by Quran. It was not so in regard to Hindu rulers.

This does not mean that religion did not occupy an important place in the administration of the state. It has been described as the king of the kings. In fact, the duties of the king in ancient Indian literature have been treated as a part of the religion. The king could not go beyond the limitations imposed on him by dharmasastra. In this respect Hindu kings were more law-abiding and God-fearing. They could not cross the limit of religion. All this means that although of 'Hindu state recognised the supremacy of dharma, but it was not theocratic.'

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Describe briefly the administration of justice and law in ancient India ?

Ans. Administration of justice and law—Today administration of justice and maintenance of law is the most important function of the state. It was not so in ancient India. The following lines indicate the situation of the administration of justice and law in ancient India :—

> "Administration of justice, however, did not form a part of the state's duties in early times. In Europe as well as in India the aggrieved party had itself to take such steps as it could in order to get its wrongs redressed. Distraint of the defendant or the accused by the plaintiff, his seat before the latter's house and in allowing him to move out till his claim was satisfied or wrong righted (dharma) was a well established practice as much in ancient England and Ireland as in ancient India."

No mention of judicial system in Vedic literature—In Vedic literature, we do not find any mention of the judicial system. Nowhere the king has been referred as a judge. There is mention of the offences like theft and adultery but there is no mention of the trial for these offences, by the king.

Manu Smriti and the administration of jusice—In Manu Smriti we find some reference to the administration of justice. It was administered through the use of the force or employment of the strategy of dharma.

Dharmasastra and Arthasastra and the administration of justice—In Dharmasastra and Arthasastra, there is detailed description of the administration of justice. Under these books the king has been described as the heads of the judiciary, who was expected to attend courts every day and decide the disputes. It was his duty 'to punish the wrong-doers. If he flinged from discharging it, he would go to hell.'

King as the fountain source of justice—King has been regarded as the fountain source of justice in Dharmasastra and Nitisastra literature. His time-table included a specified time for administration of justice. He was also the highest appellate court.

Impartiality—The king was expected to be impartial while administering justice and deciding the appeals.

Chief Justice—In ancient India, the Chief Justice was called 'Pradvivaka'. He was expected to be a legal luminary with a very high reputation. It was he who was the master of sacred as well as customary laws. He was expected to officiate the king in his absence.

Jury system—In ancient India, justice was administered with the help of jurists. Neither the king nor the Chief Justice could start the procedure of the court without the presence of the members of the jury. The verdict of the jury invariably guided the king and the Chief Justice. The king or the Chief Justice could act independently only when the juries could not come to a definite judgment.

Normally, member of the jury or the '*Sabhyas*' were to be the Brahmans. They were expected to study Dharmasastra and possess thorough knowledge of the sacred as well as customary laws.

Administration of justice in republics—In the republican system of government, the President officiated for the king. He had one of the members of the central cabinet as incharge of the law department or the justice.

Location of the courts—In ancient India, the courts were located at different headquarters of different territories. There were local courts, provincial courts as well as other territorial courts.

Jurisdiction of the courts—These courts had wide jurisdiction. They could proceed against the traders, officers and other members of the society.

Popular courts—In ancient India, there were popular courts, other than the official courts. There is mention of these courts in Arthasastra and Dharmasastra. There is also mention of these courts in Yajnavalakya Smriti and Manu Smriti.

These courts were actually courts that decided cases of certain families or members of a particular clan. There were Kula courts, Shreni courts and Puga courts. Puga courts decided cases of the persons living in one particular village. These courts were there as a result of the support of the government to institutions of popular backing. These courts continued to function even during Muslim rule.

In ancient India, the principle of "self-government" was very much in vogue. These courts were very much guided by the principle of "self-government". It was on account of this that there was no limit to the jurisdiction to these popular courts. Even in these courts there was provision for payments of stamp duty or a particular fee to be paid to the courts.

In ancient India, there were also panchayats that functioned as popular courts. There was higher popular courts as well that listen to the appeals against the lower panchyat courts.

In ancient India, there was provisions for trial of the culprits in public. This had an effect on the morality of the society.

If a particular person was found guilty, he was fined, imprisoned, banished or physically mutilated. In very severe offences, even death penalty was awarded. While awarding any punishment, the judge was expected to take into consideration the nature of the crime, the motive of the accused, his age and status in society. It means that punishment also differed from caste to caste or from a person of status to another person of status.

Jails—Jails were an integral part of the administration of justice. Any person, who was imprisoned, had to live in jail. In Arthashastra, there is mention of the prisons or jails. These were called 'Bandhangrihas' and the officer-in-charge was called 'Bandhangrihadyaksha.'

Judicial procedure—In ancient India, the judicial procedure was quite scientific and developed. The plaintiff complained and then the accused was given an opportunity to defend himself. There was provision for providing evidence. Ordeals or Tapasya was also part of the evidence. Punishment was awarded by the judge only after consulting the jurors or juries.

Institution of lawyers—In ancient India, there is no mention of professional lawyer. Probably, there was no institution of professional lawyer in ancient India. This institution developed later on. The lawyers in the latter period were paid fee for pleading cases. They enjoyed the same status and the fee as is found in the modern time.

Concept of the nature and the source of law—In Sanskrit literature, the word "dharma" has been used for law. In fact, dharma included many things, including law. Laws in ancient India were only traditional. They were codified in Dharmashastra. Certain laws were also of the divine origin. Laws were not made consciously as it is done in the modern time. The following lines throw more light on this aspect of the law :—

> "Hindu law was normally considered traditional and such could not, in theory, be altered by direct or avowed changes by the State.- The law was, however, occasionally altered by direct legislation and more generally by interpretation, and also by new treaties fathered of ancient names *e. g.* Narad, Smriti. Over and above these, there was the agency of two law ministers. The ministers rejected such laws as having regard to the circumstances of the community and public weal were deemed undesirable to be put into operation. They also took into consideration the popular view with regard to the current laws. This method of legal pruning and regard for the popular opinion resulted in the modifications of the laws and in effect acted as new legislation. It seems that the different treatises on. Hindu Law differing from each other and modifying earlier laws, have been the works on Ministers of law."[48]

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[48] "Hindu Polity"—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal,

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, dharma, *i. e.* law and jurisprudence, were quite developed.

2. Dharma in those days included laws as well as certain aspects of religion and many other things.

3. Dharama in ancient India did not mean only a particular mode of worship. This word had a wide connotation. In ancient India, law and justice were administered in a very efficient manner.

4. Mention of the administration of law and justice is found in Arthasastra, Dharmasastra, Manu Smriti and other books

5. King in ancient India was the fountain source of justice.

6. There were also Law Minister and the Chief Justice.

7. There was a jury system. Juries were called 'Sabhyas'. They helped a lot in the administration of justice.

8. There was difference in the administration of justice in the republics and the monarchies. In republics the President acted as the head of the judicial system.

9. Courts were situated at different places, which were the headquarters of the area over which these courts exercised their jurisdiction.

10. There were popular courts as well. These popular courts has as much of sanction as the offcial courts.

11. In ancient India laws were considered to be traditional and of divine origin. They could not be made in a conscious manner.

CHAPTER XXII

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA OR BUDGETING OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Q. Describe briefly the main sources of income and expenditure of State ancient India ?

Or

Q. Give a brief description of the fiscal administration in ancient India ?

Ans. Finances—For the smooth running of a state, finances are necessary. No state can have political stability unless it is finanically stable. In ancient India, there was financial security and stability. In ancient Indian literature, we find that description about the wealth of the country. All this indicates that in those days there was a good deal of financial stability.

Sources of income—States in ancient India secured money through certain sources. Some of these sources are in vogue even today, but others have gone. These sources differed from time to time. Normally, following were the sources of revenue :—

(*a*) Taxes and rates.

(*b*) Income from land revenue.

(*c*) Revenue from the mines and other mineral wealth.

(*d*) Other sources of revenue, such as tributes received from other states; income from trade and taxes on trade and commerce etc.

Taxes and taxation—In ancient Iadia, there was system of taxation. We shall deal with it in a subsequent chapter. Here we shall confine ourselves to the other sources of income.

Sources of income according to Kautilya—Kautılya has, in his Arthasastra, laid down the following sources of revenue of the state :—

1. **Sita**—It was nothing but the produce received from the crown fields or the fields belonging to the king.

2. **Bhaag**—The state or the king received a part of the produce from others lands. It was, in fact, a land revenue in form of kind.

3. **Bali.**—It was a kind of religious tax.

4. **Tax or kar**—The Chieftains paid a part of their land revenue to the king. It served as an important source of revenue.

5. **Tax on trade and commerce or sales tax (Vani Kar)**—A tax was levied on the things sold or bought. It was like the Sales Tax of today.

6. **Nadipar**—In ancient India states maintained the bridges, the rivers and other means of communications. People who used these things were charged certain barges taxes.

7. **Tar**—People used boats, barges etc. for crossing rivers. They had to pay money for using these facilities. The income from these sources was called 'Tar'.

8. **Vivitan or grazing tax**—It was a tax realised from the grazing lands. People who used grazing lands had to pay taxes for using those grazing lands.

9. **State share collected as boat tax.**—In ancient India there was an officer who looked after the plying of the boats on the rivers. He collected a portion of the revenue from those who plied the boats as a part of the state revenue.

10. **Rajju**—A tax was realised for the measurement of the land.

Sources of augmenting the state's income or revenue.—Kautilya has also laid down certain means of augmenting the state revenue. These means are given below :—

1. **Mool (capital)**—In ancient India certain trades were run by the state and the income received through the sale of the things sold was called 'Mool'.

2. **Bhaag or part**—The traders had to pay a part of their gain to the state. This share differed from commodity to commodity.

3. **Vyaji (interest)**—Businessmen had to give certain things to the state. They were, in fact, purchased. The things purchased were invariably 5 to 10 per cent more than due. It was termed as Nyaji and was charged for weighing and measuring the things purchased.

4. **Parigh**—It was a special type of tax.

5. **Klript**—Those people who lived on the banks of the rivers, lakes or sea had to pay this type of tax.

6. **Rupik**—People had to pay some money for the state coffers. This tax was, in fact, a tax collected from the people.

7. **Atya (fine)**—If a person purchased a thing from a place other than the place fixed for its sale, he was fined for doing so, The fine that was collected in this manner was called 'Atya'.

Sources of income according to Chanakya—Chanakya has laid down the following seven sources of income :—

1. Income from Durg or fort.
2. Income from the entire state or the state.
3. Income from mineral wealth.
4 Income from purchase etc.
5. Income from forests.
6. Income from places of inhabitation.
7. Income from roads and commerce.

Land revenue—The state in ancient India derived its revenue from cultivators as well as cattle breeders. The following lines throw light on this position :—

> "The state derived its revenues from the agriculturists and cattle breeders. The farmers paid a certain portion of the breeds of the crops, the amount of which is not disclosed by the Vedic literature. The capital breeders formed a much more important class in the Vedic than in the succeeding ages, as the society was then just emerging from the pastoral stage. They paid taxes in form of coins, bulls and horses, a certain per cent of the herds being claimed by the state."

Land revenue was normally 16 per cent. It went up to 25 per cent in the Mauryan period. Agriculturists were provied relief when there was drought or the produce was not sufficient

There was no permanent settlement of the land revenue. People were asked to pay as required by the state.

Ownership of the land—In each state there was a different mode of the ownership of the land. In Manu Smriti it has been laid down that the land belonged to the king. At other places it has been laid down that the land belonged to private individuals and they had to pay an amount by way of land revenue. After 600 B. C., in fact, the land belonged to individuals and they had to pay land revenue to the state.

Taxes on commerce, trade and industry—Several trades, commerce and industry had to bear their own expenses. Tax was levied on different aspects of trade. Jewellers had to pay taxes on jewellery. Similarly, other businessmen also had to pay taxes. Industry was also subjected to taxation There was also the practice of levying of customs duty. The following lines throw some light on this point :—

> "In addition to the customs duties and ferry taxes, trade had to bear some other burdens as well. Some states used to test and stamp weights and measures and charged a small fee for the sale. A shop tax, which is to be rarely met with any smritis, is frequently referred to in inscriptions".

Income from industry and trade—In ancient India there was income from industry as well as trade. The following lines throw light on this point :—

> "Let us now consider the taxes payable by industry. As far as petty artisans like smiths and carpenters were concerned, it appears that they were usually required to work one or two days a month for the state. The Central Government usually transferred the right to receive the labour tax to the local bodies which could utilise it in carrying their schemes and works of public utility......".

> "Weavers used to pay a tax of 1½ panam......"

> "Trade in wine was under strict state control. It was manufactured partly in state distilleries and partly by private agencies ; the wine prepared by the latter had to pay an excise duty of 5 per cent".

Income from mineral wealth– In ancient India mines were considered to be a part of the state wealth. Tax was levied on carrying out the mining by private agencies. Following lines throw ample light on this thing :—

> "All mines were regarded as state property. Some of them were worked by the government, but others were often leased out all well. When such was the case, the lessee had to pay a fairly heavy excise duty. According to Sukra, it was to be 50 per cent in case of the gold and diamonds, 33½ per cent in case of silver and copper and 16 to 25 per cent in case of other metals. A 21 per cent tax on gold mentioned in the Smritis is probably the customs duty and the excise duty".

Duty on salt—In ancient India, duty was also levied on salt and the state earned income out of this duty.

Forced labour as a source of revenue—In ancient India, there was a practice of forced unpaid labour. In this regard only poor people had to suffer. The state could usually utilise its right of this free service only during the visit of its officers on tour in the mufasils. It was not very welcomed and popular made of income yet it was in vogue.

Power to levy taxes to meet unforeseen calamities—The state could also levy extra cesses to meet unforeseen expenditure.

Waste lands and income from waste lands—In ancient India, Crown lands, waste lands, forests, mines, treasure troves, natural tanks and reservoirs formed part of the state property. State's lands were under nobody's occupation. Those persons who brought them under cultivation had to pay a revenue to the state. Similar was the case with forest, treasure troves etc.

Miscellaneous sources of income—Apart from the sources enumerated above, states in ancient India earned their income through the following sources as well :—

1. Tributes received from subservient states.
2. Fines imposed on people for doing something wrong.
3. Ownerless and heirless property was claimed by the state.

Items of expenditure—In ancient India, states spent money on several items. These items covered several aspects of the life of the state and the society.

Items of expenditure according to Kautilya's Arthasastra—In Arthasastra the description of the items of expenditure has been given. These items are given below :—

(a) **Establishment of the royal office**—This included salaries of the people of the house-hold, ministers and other officers etc.

There is no mention of the percentage of expenditure nor there is any description of different items in exact manner.

Items of expenditure according to Sukra Niti—In Sukra Niti, we find definite description of different items of expenditure and definite percentage on each. Given below is a chart of the same :—

1. Fighting forces (Balam or Army)	50%
2. Charity and donations (Danam)	8⅓%
3. People or social services (Prakritayah)	8⅓%

4.	Civil administration (Adhikarinah)	8⅓%
5.	Privy purse (Atma Bhag)	8⅓%
6.	Reserve fund (Kosh)	16⅓%

In the states having income of 1,00,000 panas a year, the items and percentages of expenditure were as follows :—

		Panas
1.	Privy purse	18,000 or 18%
2.	Prakritis	3,600 or 3·6%
3.	Lekhaka	1,200 or 1·2%
4.	Queen and princes	3,600 or 3·6%
5.	Scholars	2,400 or 2·4%
6.	Army	48,000 or 48%
7.	Elephants, horses and guns	4,800 or 4·8%
8.	Reserve fund	18,000 or 18%

Smaller the state greater the expenditure on royal household—States that had smaller revenue, spent more on the maintenance of the royal household. It will be quite eminent from the comparison of the two budgets given above.

In different periods, the percentage of expenditure on social services differed. During the period of Harsha 50% of the land revenue was spent on promoting intellectual refinements. It was natural to have 50% of the expenditure on army in those days. In those days other states had to exist on account of their forces.

Budgeting—In ancient India, there was no definite system of budgeting, but budgets were prepared and presented before the authority. In republics these budgets were presented before the assembly or parliament and in monarchies these budgets were presented before the king and his ministers.

Really speaking, in ancient India, there was a scientific system of budgeting as well as income and expenditure.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Without finances, no country can have a stable political administration.
2. In ancient India, great deal of stress was laid on scientific fiscal administration.
3. Books on ancient Indian polity throw ample light on the budgeting, sources of income and avenues of expenditure.
4. Following were the sources of income of the state in ancient India :—
   - (*a*) Taxes and rates.
   - (*b*) Income from land revenue.
   - (*c*) Revenues from mines and other mineral wealth.
   - (*d*) Other sources of revenue such as tributes received from other states, income from trade, and taxes on trade and commerce etc.
5. Kautilya, in his Arthasastra, has laid the following sources of revenue :—
   - (*a*) Sita.
   - (*b*) Bhaag.
   - (*c*) Bali.
   - (*d*) Tax or kar.
   - (*e*) Tax on trade, commerce and sales tax.
   - (*f*) Nadipar.

(g) Tar.
(h) Vivitan or grazing tax.
(i) State's share collected as boat tax.
(j) Rajju.

6. Kautilya has also laid down the following as means of augmenting the state revenue :—

(a) Mool or capital.
(b) Bhaag or part.
(c) Vyaji or interest.
(d) Parigh.
(e) Klript.
(f) Rupik.
(g) Atya or fine.

7. Chanakya has also laid down certain sources of revenue of the state. They are seven in number as detailed below :—

(a) Income from Durg or fort.
(b) Income from the entire state or the state.
(c) Income from mineral wealth.
(d) Income from purchase etc.
(e) Income from forests.
(f) Income from places of inhabitation.
(g) Income from roads and commerce.

8. In ancient India, land revenue formed an important source in income. It was normally 15%.

9. In ancient India, ownership of the land vested in the king of the society.

10. In Arthasastra, there is also a description of the avenues of expenditure. These avenues included the following :—

(a) Establishment of the loyal office.
(b) Establishment of the army.
(c) Charity and donations.
(d) Maintenance of social services.
(e) Civil administration.
(f) Reserve fund etc.

11. Normally, establishment of the office of the king did not involve huge expenditure. It was fixed at a definite per cent of the total revenue.

12. In smaller states, greater amount was spent on this item as compared to states with larger revenue.

13. In short, it may be said that in ancient India there was a scientific system of budgeting, income and expenditure.

CHAPTER XXIII

TAXATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Explain the theory of taxation in ancient India from the constitutional point of view ?

Or

Q. Discuss the main principles underlying the policy of taxation in ancient India and explain the wages theory of taxation ?

Or

Q. Write a short essay on taxation in ancient India ?

Ans. Importance of taxes—Taxes are an important source of income. It was so even in ancient India. In those days taxes were of two types :—

(*a*) Voluntary or Bali ; and

(*b*) Compulsory.

In ancient Indian literature; there is a prayer on behalf of the king to Indra to compel his subjects to pay him dues and taxes. It indicates that in ancient India taxes formed an important source of income of the state.

In ancient Indian literature on polity, we find description of an officer called 'Bhagadhuk'' or the Collector of the Royal Share. There was also an officer called 'Samaharta'. He brought tributes. Both these officers were responsible for collection of the taxes from individual citizens as well as subservient rulers.

Was taxation in ancient India oppressive ?—Some of the writers about ancient Indian Polity have advanced the view that taxation in ancient India was oppressive and grinding. Hopkins was the chief exponent of this view. This is not a correct assessment. Probably, the word 'Visamatta' or the eater of the people has misled him. This phrase has been used for the king in ancient India literature. This term was only metaphoric and symbolic. It only indicated that the king lived only on the share of his subjects.

Principles of taxation in ancient India—In ancient India, taxes were levied according to certain principles. These principles have been enunciated in Arthasastra of Kautilya, Dharmasastras and Smritis. Given below is a brief description of these principles :—

1. Taxation should be reasonable and equitable.—It has been laid down in ancient Indian literature that taxes should be levied in a reasonable and equitable manner. In this regard, the king has been compared to a gardener who plucks the fruits and flowers but does not harm the trees. In this respect, the following lines throw more light :—

> "The taxation (in ancient India) was to be reasonable and equitable ; the king was never to forget that nothing exposed him to greater hatred than oppressive taxation. The gardener plucks fruits and flowers, but does not harm the trees ; the bee sucks the honey but does not damage the flowers ; in the same manner the king should collect his taxes but should not cause any sufferings to his subjects."[49]

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[49] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India.'

प्रद्विषंति परिख्यातं राजानमतिरवादिनम.।
फलार्थी नृपतिर्लोकान्यालयेद्यत्नमास्थितः ॥
दानमानादितोयेनमाला कारोंडकुरानिव ।

2. **Fair and reasonable return for the labour**—It was expected of the king to make the tax-payers feel that they got a fair and reasonable return for the labour.

3. **Tax on net profits and not on gross earnings**—In ancient India, the tax was evied on net profits and not on gross earnings.

4. **Single point tax system**—In ancient India, there was single point tax system. It meant that an article was to be taxed only once and not twice.

5. **Gradual increase in taxation**—In ancient India if the taxation was to be increased, it was to be increased in a gradual and slow manner and not in a sudden and steep manner.

6. **Extra taxation only at the time of national calamity**—In ancient India, if extra taxes were to be levied, they were levied only at the time of national calamity and not in normal course. The following lines throw light on this point :—

> "Extra taxation was to be imposed only in times of national calamity after taking comprehensive steps to explain the situation to the people with a view to ensure a willing response. The king was never to forget that it was only an exceptional remedy to be adopted when there was no other alternative".

Principles about remission of taxes—There were definite principles about the remission of the normal taxes. Remission could be partial or total. These principles have been put forward in Arthasastra and Sukra Niti. Following were the principles of remission :—

1. **To encourage enterprise**—If a person undertook some enterprise to make the land fertile, he was given remission. He was charged only a normal tax. This was also true about industry.

2. **Military men exempted from taxes**—Those villagers who undertook military jobs were exempt from taxation. On the other hand, they may require supplies of the recruits.

3. **Incapacity to pay taxes**—Such persons who were incapable of paying taxes were exempted from them. Cumb, deaf, decrepit and physically incapacitated person were exempted from payment of taxes.

4. **Exemption on humanitarian grounds**—Exemption was also granted to people from taxation on humanitarian grounds.

5. **Respect for learning**—In ancient India, people respected learning at lot. It was on account of this fact that learned Brahmans were exempt from payment of taxes. Students who were studying Sanskrit and other branches of knowledge were exempted from payment of taxes of any kind.

Learned men given revenue of certain villages—Apart from exempting learned Brahmanas from payment of taxes; they were sometimes given revenue of the villages in order to maintain themselves and their students.

Was the entire class of Brahmanas exempted from taxation—Certain scholars, have opined that in ancient India the entire class of Brahmans was free from taxation. This opinion is based on words of some Smritis. This is not correct. Only those Brahmanas who discharge their duties towards the state and devoted their entire energy for the cause of learning were exempted from taxes. 'Those Brahmanas who were holding lucrative appointments in government service or those who were following the money-making professions, like trade, agriculture and cattle breeding, were charged-usual taxes and cesses at the full rates'.

If some of the Brahmanas did not pay taxes, their belongings were also sold as those of others.

Temples and taxation—Some of the places of worship were exempted from taxes, but temples that owed extensive lands and had ample resources were not exempted from taxes.

Extra taxes—There was also provision for levying extra taxes. Such taxes were levied to meet unforeseen calamities. Such extraordinary taxes were levied at different rates on different classes of people. When huge works were undertaken, extra taxes were levied.

Was taxation equitable and reasonable The principles on which taxation was based in ancient India were quite equitable and reasonable. How far these principles were followed in actual practice is a matter to be seen. Different rulers had different attitudes towards taxation. Some of the rulers were very inconsiderate in levying taxes while the others were quite reasonable.

Opposition to unjust levy and taxes—In ancient India, people could oppose unjust levies and taxes. Kings could not become tyrannical and self-built in this regard.

Theories of taxation—In ancient India, taxation was based on the following theories :—

(*a*) **Dharma or religion theory of taxation**—According to this theory, the king was not free to levy taxes according to his whims. While levying taxes, he was to be guided by the principles of religion or dharma or duty. This imposed a strong check on the king from getting tyrannical and self-built.

(*b*) **Remuneration theory of taxation**—The other theory of taxation is that the king received taxes as his salary or remuneration for doing good to the people. He could, therefore, not receive more than what was actually due to him.

(*c*) **Divine theory of taxation**—Taxation in ancient India was based on divine origin. It was based on sacred common law. The king could not impose taxes on his own accord. In this regard, he had to be guided by the traditional law.

Control of the Council of Ministers—On the taxation, the council of ministers had a good deal of control. They collected taxes on behalf of the king and so they had a control over it.

Protection and allegiance—There is also the theory that the taxes were wages for protection. It was, in fact, a part of the duty of the king and so the taxes also became a part of the duties of the subjects.

Principles of taxation in ancient India—In ancient India, the king and those responsible for levying taxes were guided by the following principles :—

(*a*) Taxation should not destroy the foundation of the one levying taxes as those of others.

(*b*) Subjects should be so taxed that they may remain strong to bear future burdens and, if necessary, heavier ones. It means that taxation should be quite tolerable.

(*c*) Taxes should be moderate and not heavy, because it is the moderately taxed ones who are able to execute greater deals as compared to heavily taxed ones.

(*d*) Taxation should be such as it may not be left by the subjects, (*e*) While raising taxes, the king should be guided by the principle "little by little when the realm's prosperity is increasing." In other words the king should enhance the rate of taxation only when there is increase in prosperity. The following lines give a clearer picture of taxation and its guiding principles :—

> "Economic considerations are everywhere prominent Productive power is not to be hampered ; profit and not capital to be taxed ; articles which lead to new industries are to be encouraged ; exports which cause "artificial" prosperity by driving up prices are to be discouraged ; no special protection is granted to ordinary industries ; taxes should be gradual, and with reference to capacity, and not in an obnoxious form".[50]

In many respects, the principles enunciated above shall hold good even in the modern times.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, there was a scientific system of taxation.

2. Taxes were of two types :—

   (*a*) Voluntary ; and

   (*b*) Compulsory.

3. In ancient India, there was a definite arrangement for the collection of taxes and there was an officer in charge for this job.

4. There were definite principles of taxation in ancient India and it is wrong to say that in ancient India, taxation was oppressive.

5. Taxation was made on the basis of the following principles :—

   (*a*) Taxation should be reasonable and equitable.

   (*b*) It should ensure fair and reasonable return for the labour.

   (*c*) Taxes were to be levied on net profits and not on gross earnings.

   (*d*) There was a single point tax system.

   (*e*) There was a gradual increase in taxation and that too when the national wealth increased.

   (*f*) Extra taxes were levied only at the time of national calamity and not at the sweet will of the ruler or the king.

6. There were definite principles of remission of the taxes, which are as follows :—

   (*a*) Taxes were levied in a way that they should encourage enterprise.

   (*b*) Military men were exempted from taxes.

   (*c*) Those persons who were incapable of paying taxes were exempted from them.

   (*d*) Exemption was normally granted on humanitarian ground.

   (*e*) As a respect for learning and education, Brahmanas learned men and students were exempt from the taxes.

7. It is wrong to say that the entire class of the Brahmans was exempted from the payment of taxes.

8. Only those Brahmanas who were devoted to the cause of learning were exempted from the payment of taxes.

9. Those Brahmanas who engaged themselves in profitable business were not exempted from taxes.

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[50] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

10. Temples with a good deal of landed property were not exempted from taxes.

11. Extra taxes were levied only when some calamity was involved.

12. People had a right to oppose unreasonable and unjust taxes.

13. Following theories were prevalent in ancient India about taxation.

(*a*) **Dharma or religion theory of taxation**—It implied that the taxt had to be levied according to the principles of dharma or religion.

(*b*) **Remuneration theory of taxation**—It meant that the king could levy taxes as remuneration for looking after the interests of his subjects.

(*c*) **Divine theory of taxation**—It meant that taxes could be levied only on the basis of sacred common law.

14. Taxation was under the control of the Council of Ministers.

15. Taxation symbolized allegiance by the subjects to the king and, in return, the king guaranteed them protection.

16. Taxes were to be levied in such a manner that they did not destroy the foundation of the authority levying the taxes and on this basis the taxes were levied.

17. Taxation was to be made in such a way that it left the tax-payers strong enough to bear future burdens.

18. Texes were to be moderate and not heavy.

19. While raising taxes, the king was to be guided by the principles of raising the taxes gradually and not all of a sudden.

CHAPTER XXIV

INTER-STATE-RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Write an essay on inter-state relations in ancient India ?

Or

Q. What was the condition of the inter-state relation in ancient India ?

Ans. Inter-state relationship—Relations between different states are an important part of the politics and public administration. There are definite principles that guide this relationship. This relationship is different at different times. During war it is different while at other times it is different. In other words, the inter-state relationship has two facets :—

(*a*) Inter-state relationship during war ; and

(*b*) Inter-state relationship during peace.

Inter-state relationship during different periods of history in ancient India—In ancient India, inter-state relationship different from time to time. What was true of inter-state relationship during Vedic period, was not the same about inter-state relationship during Mauryan period. Given below is a picture of the inter-state relation during *Vedic* period :—

> "We posses very little information about inter-state relations of the Vedic period. States were still to a great extent tribal and for a long time they were engaged in subjugating the non-Aryans. Their mutual relations were, therefore, generally peaceful. Aryans, however, began

> to become envious of one another owing to difference in success achieved by different tribes to which they belonged. We, therefore, sometimes find them fighting amongst themselves, often taking the help of non-Aryan chiefs".

Inter-state relationship in the latter Vedic period—Inter-state relationship during later Vedic period became different from the earlier Vedic period. Smaller states fused into bigger states and so the relationship between two states depended upon their size. States with higher status were given greater respect by smaller states.

The ideal of emperorship—The ideal of emperorship of the latter Vedic period did influence the inter-state relationship. They annexed smaller states in order to become more important. The following lines throw light on this situation :—

> "Smritis also declare that when a king feels that his army is strong and kingdom prosperous, and notices that the case is reverse with his opponents, he is at liberty to declare a war against them".

Invitation to unprovoked aggression—Ambition to become important and emperor, sometimes led to unprovoked aggression by stronger state. In other words, it means that powerful states were always on the look for annexation of smaller states while smaller states were always in the danger of being annexed by powerful states.

Harmony amongst the comity of nations—Although in ancient India, we find the element of war and aggression, yet the thinkers of ancient India were quite anxious to bring about harmony amongst the comity of nations. The following lines bring this thing out more clearly :—

> "It would be, however, wrong to suppose that ancient Indian thinkers, while striving for harmony within the states, were indifferent for its realisation among the comity of nations. Almost all of them point out to the ambitious king that the appeal to armies should be avoided as far as possible ; and unrighteous war brings disgrace in this life and procures hell hereafter".

Judicious balance of power among different states—Thinkers in ancient India knew it very well that they could not banish war altogether. They, therefore, pleaded for judicious balance of power.

Mandal theory or the theory of treating the neighbour as the enemy—In ancient India, the thinkers propounded the theory that in every country, which is divided into small states, an ambitious conquerer is bound to come up and establish his hegemony over others. This theory also 'lays down that the immediate neighbouring state in front should be assumed to be inimical'. The provisions of this theory hold good even at the present moment.

Nominal recognition of suzerainty—Ancient Indian thinkers, in their anxiety to avoid war, have laid down that if the suzerainty was recognised by his neighbours, he should be content with receiving tributes. He should not try to shed blood. This policy was followed by many kings in ancient India. Pandavas followed it. The following lines corroborate this statement :—

> "The advice to refrain from annexation after conquest is easy to give but difficult to follow ; a survey of the ancient Indian history, however, shows that it was more frequently followed than disregarded".

This was true even about Mauryan and Gupta empires.

Wars between different countries or states—In ancient India, states did get to war with each other.

Following were the causes of the war :—

1. Desire to attain the status of an emperor.
2. Need of self-preservation.
3. Desire to acquire more territory and tributes.
4. Restoration of balance of power.
5. Retaliation and revenge.
6. Rescue of oppressed population.

High standards of the code of honour in the battle—Since battles had to be fought, ancient Indian thinkers, in order to avoid their ruinous effect, laid down a code of conduct on the battle field. Wars did not interfere with the normal life or agriculture. Megasthanese was surprised when he found that war in India did not interfere with the agriculture operation. What ancient Indian thinkers thought in this regard is given in the following lines :—

> "Kautilya gives the common sense advice ; if a state has immense superiority over his opponent, it should follow the chivalry's code (dharma yuddha) otherwise it should have recourse to all methods of warfare, whether fair of foul. The view of Bhisma is the same. Sukra conquers with his two predecessor".

Koot Yuddha—There was also provision for koot yuddha. In such a war, attack could be made at any time and under all circumstances. It even implied guerilla warefare. In such a war anything could be usurped. Even in such a war, certain standards were followed.

Rules about behaviour with the enemy—Ancient Indian thinkers have laid down definite rules about behaviour with the enemy. They have not regarded enemy as something inferior to the status of a human-being. There were also definite rulers about treasures, valuables and other items of body.

Intercourse between the countries—Probably, in peace time and in normal behaviour, no restriction was imposed on people moving from one country to the other, but during war, definitely certain restrictions were imposed.

Relations between states during peace time—Relations between different states during peace time were different from the state of the relations during war. States had the tradition of keeping their representatives such as ambassadors in other states. This was done in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship. Ancient Indian history is full of such events. These ambassadors were received by the kings in their courts.

Goodwill visits—In ancient India, there was also provision for goodwill visits of the missions to different countries. People from India went to China, Ceylon, Rome, etc.

Status of ambassadors—Ambassadors enjoyed special status as it is found today. An ambassador was inviolably. He could not be killed even if he did something wrong. This thing we find in Ramayana as well as in Mahabharat.

Categories of the ambassadors or missions—Ambassadors or missions that went to the foreign countries could be classified under the following categories :—

(*a*) **Nisrishtartha**—He was an ambassador who had full powers of negotiations.

(*b*) **Parimitartha**—Such an ambassador had definite instructions and he could not go beyond those instructions.

(*c*) **Sasanahara Doot**—Such a person was simply an ambassador. He had to go and get a reply.

These ambassadors and missions, like the missions of the modern times, had a free access to all places. They could, therefore, carry out espionage in a licensed manner.

Relations with feudatory—In ancient India, there were a large number of feudatories. These feudatories were semi-independent states. They were, in fact, like states under British regime in India. The following lines throw light on the status of these feudatories :—

> "......................the status and power of the feudatories not the same. A circumstance which reminds us of the Indian polity under the British rule in which different Indian princes enjoyed different privileges."

Different categories of the feudatories—These feudatories were of different categories. Their mention is found in Sukra Niti and other books of polity. The following lines give a clear description of the grades of the feudatories :—

> "Sukra gives an interesting account of the grades and incomes of the different feudatories. Lowest in the rung of the ladder, Samant, had a revenue of a lac of silver Karshas, roughly equal to rupees 40,000 of modern days. Then came Mandalika with a revenue of 10 lacs, Raja with a revenue of 20 lacs, Maharaja with a revenue of 50 lacs, Samraat with a revenue of a crore, Virat with a revenue of 10 crores and Sarvabhauma with a revenue of 50 crores."

Relationship between imperial power and the feudatories—These feudatories were under an imperial power. Representatives of the imperial power stayed at the courts of the feudatory rulers. They exercised power of general control and supervision and watch the interest of the imperial power. They were like the political agents or residents stationed in the Indian states under British rule.

Control and supervision of the paramount power—Control of the paramount or the imperial power differed in degree from state to state. The following lines throw light on this situation :—

> "The control, which the paramount power exercised, naturally varied with the status of the feudatory and its own capacity to check him. Generally obedience to imperial orders was accepted and executed. The feudatories were usually required to acknowledge their subordinate position in the official charters they issued by mentioning the name of the emperor first. They could not issue coinage."

Feudatories paid a regular tribute. The rulers of these feudatories had to be present in the courts of the imperial power on ceremonial occasions as well as on the occasions required by the imperial power.

Internal autonomy of the feudatories—Different feudatories had different degree of internal autonomy. It depended on the power and the behaviour of the feudatory. Small feudatories usually enjoyed less powers while large ones more. Feudatories that had rebelled and had been defeated were subjected to a number of indignities.

Status of the central government—If the central government became weak. feudatories enjoyed a lot of powers. They often rebelled also. But if the centre was strong, they could not raise their head.

In short, it may be said that the inter-state relationship in ancient India was different times. It differed in degrees and according to requirements of the history.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, there was specific provision for inter-state relationship.
2. This relationship differed from period to period of the history.
3. These relationships were of two kinds :—
   - (*a*) Relationship during war ; and
   - (*b*) Relationship during peace.

4. Relationship between states during war was naturally inimical while during peace it differed according to the relationship between the two states or the states.

5. In the latter Vedic period, the ideal of emperorship grew and so smaller states were annexed by the larger states.

6. In the ancient India, there was no organisation like U. N. O, but every attempt was made to establish harmony among the comity of nations.

7. In regard to the pattern of inter-state relationship, thinkers of ancient India have pleaded for balance of power between different states. This philosophy is true even in the modern times. Ancient Indian thinkers did so because they could not banish war altogether.

8. In ancient India some thinkers have also propounded the theory that the neighbouring state should always be looked upon with suspicion. It was known as Mandal theory.

9. In ancient India, there was high standard of behaviour. They applied even during the wars. So even when the states' were at war with each other, they did observe certain standards of behaviour.

10. Normally, between friendly countries or states, there were different provisions of maintaining the relationship. Ambassadors were exchanged and sometimes presents were also exchanged.

11. In order to establish close relationship between different states and countries, there was provision for goodwill visits as well. Such visits were carried out by the representatives of a particular nation to other nations.

12. There were feudatories as well. These feudatories were subordinates to bigger states. Bigger states had control over these feudatories and so they paid tributes to the states that were over them.

13. There were different categories of feudatories. Larger feudatories enjoyed greater freedom while the smaller ones lesser freedom.

14. Normally, the paramount power or the imperial power exercised some control over the feudatories. This power had its political agent or resident who controlled the affairs of the feudatories. It was like the political agents of the British empire in the Indian states.

15. Normally, the feudatories or the protected states became free and powerful when the Central Government became weak.

CHAPTER XXV

ESPIONAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Explain the system of espionage as advocated by Kautilya and show its significance with regard to internal and external security.

Or

Q. Write a short essay on espionage in ancient India

Ans. Espionage and its importance—Espionage is a secret means of getting information about certain things. This applies to information of within the country as well as of other countries. It is an important means of keeping a person up-to-date about certain things. In ancient India, there was a very strong system of espionage. Kings were anxious to keep themselves well informed about the condition of the people. They wanted to know if the state employees were not oppressing the people.

The kings in ancient India did not confirm this activity to their own country alone. They also applied this means in respect of other countries in order to get information about the military strength and other secrets of other countries

History of espionage—Espionage system is very old. We find that in Rig Veda, the ancient most available book, but there is mention of this institution. *Manu* has laid down that the king should try to gather information about his enemies through the system of espionage. He has gone to the extent of saying that he should keep himself posted with day-to-day information about his enemies. In Mahabharat also, there is mention of this institution, as a means of collecting information. Manu has said that the spies were like the eyes of the king. In Ramayana also there are several examples of espionage. There also, spies have been described as the eyes of the king.

Spies in ancient India moved about in different ways. They masqueraded in different forms and, thus, gathered different types of information In Mahabharat there is the description of Bhisma's spies moving about masquerading as blind, dumb, deaf, etc Sometimes, these spies also assumed the forms of beggars. In Mudra Rakshas, the famous drama of Sanskrit literature. there is mention of all these things. In this book, there is also mention of a famous spy named Viradh Gupta. He had gone to Patiliputra as a snake charmer.

Kautilya and espionage—Kautilya has laid great stress on the institution of espionage. He has described this institution as inevitable for every king. In his book Arthasastra, there is detailed description of this institution. He has described different forms, types duties and jobs of the spies. In ancient India, there is description of spies in almost all the old books. In Kautilya's Arthasastra, the following lines occur about the institution of spies :—

> "Assisted by the council of ministers, tried under espionage, the king shall proceed to create spies."

Types of spies—Kautilya has laid down the following types of spies :—

(*a*) **Fraudulent disciple or Kapatik-Kshatra**—Normally, a person who could read the minds of others was classed as a spy of this category. He went about in the guide of a student. Such a spy used to be very talkative. The following lines throw ample light on this type of spies :—

> "A skilful person capable of guessing the mind of others is a fraudulent disciple. Having encouraged such a spy with honour and money reward; minister shall deliver him, "Sworn to the king and myself though shalt inform us of whatever wickedness thou finds in others",

It means that such a spy lived in close contract with the king and the minister. He tried to gather information for the king and the minister.

(*b*) **Udasthita (Recluse)**—Such spies moved about in the garb of the mendicants and recluse. Following lines occur about suth spies in Arthasastra :—

> "One who is initiated in asceticism and is possessed of foresight and character is a recluse. This spy, provided with large money and many disciples, shall carry on agriculture, cattle rearing, and trade (vartakarm) on the lands alloted to him for the purpose. Out of the produce and profits thus acquired, he shall provide all ascetics with subsistence, clothing and lodging and sent on espionage such among those under his protection as are desirous to earn livelihood (vrittikama) ordering each of them to dedicate a particular kind of crime committed in connection with the king's wealth, and to report of it when they come to receive their subsistence and wages. All the ascetics (under the recluse) shall surely send their followers on similar errands."

(*c*) **Grihapathik or a house-holder**—Normally, such a spy was intelligent and poor. He led the life of a poor farmer and carried out the job of espionage. This spy has been described in Arthasastra in the following lines :—

> "A cultivator, fallen from his profession, who possessed of foresight and pure character, is termed a house-holder spy. This spy shall carry on the cultivation of the land alloted to him for the purpose, and maintain cultivators, etc. as before."

(*d*) **A Merchant or Vaidehaka**—This type of spy acted as a trader having lost his source of livelihood. Such a spy was intelligent, pure in character and nice in behaviour. The following lines of Arthasastra give a fine description of this category of the spy :

> "A trader, fallen from his profession, who possessed of foresight and character, is a merchant spy. This spy shall carry on the manufacture of merchantile on lands alloted to him for the purpose, etc. as before."

It means that in other respect, this spy acted like the recluse.

(*e*) **Tapas or Ascetic**—Normally, such spies had shaven head or breaded hair. They lived under the guise of a ascetic practisisng austerity. They were, normally, surrounded by a host of disciples, who also had a shaven head and breaded hair. Such spies could take their abode in the suburb of the city and pretend as a person barely living on a handful of vegetables or meadow-grass taken once in the interval of a month or two, but he might take, in secret, his favourite foodstuff.

(*f*) **Satri (A class-mate or a colleague)**—Normally, those persons who had learnt something about palmistry, sorcery, etc. were to act as Satri. Those persons who knew the art of music were also called 'Satris'. Such persons were surrounded by disciples and would answer questions by nods and by movement of the body.

(*g*) **Takshna or a fire brand**—Normally, a person who could earn his livelihood by taming elephants, lions and other dangerous animals was appointed a spy. He would go to other countries and demonstrate his skill of playing with the dangerous animals. Following lines give a description of this class of spies :—

> "Those orphans (Asambandhinah) who are to be necessarily fed by the state and are put to study Science, Palmistry (Angavidya), Sorcery (Mayagata), the duties of the various orders of religious life, leger demain (Jambak-Vidya), and the readings of omens and augury (Antarchakra), or class-mate spies, or spies learning by social-intercourse.

> "Such brave desperose of the country who, reckless of their own life, confront elephants or tiger in fight mainly for the purpose of earning money are turned fire brand or firy spies."

(*h*) **Rasad or a poisoner**—Such a spy was capable of poisoning people. He, in fact, had no filial enemies left in him and he was very cruel. The following lines describe the qualities of such a spy :—

> "Those who have no trace of filial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent are poisoners or Rasad".

(*i*) **Bhikushuki or a Mendicant woman**—Normally, such a woman belonged to the class of Brahmanas or some other class of people who could carry out the functions of a mendicant woman in a successful manner. Given below is a description of such a spy :—

> "A poor widow of Brahamana caste, very clever, and desirous to earn her livelihood, is a woman ascetic (Parivrajika). Honoured in the king's herem, such a woman shall frequently visit the residences of the king's Prime Ministers (Mahamatra-kulam)".

Types of spies—Spies were, normally, of two types :—

(*i*) Wandering spies ; and

(*ii*) Internal spies.

(*i*) **Wandering spies**—These spies moved about in other countries. They gathered information about the other countries and passed it on to their own department, which, ultimately, conveyed it to the king or the Minister-in-Charge for the affairs of the state. The following lines of Kautilya's Arthasastra throw ample light on this :—

> "Of these spies, those who are of good families, royal reliable, well-trained in the art of putting on disguises, appropriate to countries and trade, and possessed of knowledge of many things and arts, shall be sent by the king to spy in his own country the movements of his ministers, priests, commanders of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers, the officer-in-charge of the herem, the magistrate...........".

(*ii*) **Internal spies**—Internal spies were those persons who would work in the household of the ministers and other officers of the state. Such spies were responsible for giving information about the conduct of these ministers and officers to the king. They could not know their other brothers in the job. Their main task was to preserve the internal security of the state.

Organisation of espionage and the duties of the spies—Different types of spies had different duties to perform. In fact, the whole system of the spies was well organised. There was a very little chance of the things going astray. Given below is a brief description of the duties and the organisation of the spies :—

Duties of the firy spies—These spies were employed to hold the royal umbrella, vase, fan, shoes, or to attend at the throne, chariot, and conveyance, shall espy the public character of the officers.

Class-mate spies were entrusted with the task of conveying the information gathered by the firy spies to the institute of espionage.

Espionage of the private character of the officers—Poisoners, who acted as cooks, procurers of water for bath, shampooers, toilet makers, water servants etc. were to be incharge of spying the private character of these officers.

Duties of the mendicant women—A mendicant woman was responsible for passing on the information, gathered by the poisoners, to the institue of espionage.

Immediate officer of the institute of espionage—Every institute of espionage had an immediate officer. He would make use of the signs or writings and set his own spies in motion.

Spies not known to each other—Different types of spies did not know each other.

How did the spies know each other ?—Spies could know each other only by making certain signs. These signs helped them to go to certain places where they might be checked by security men.

How could spies go away ?—Since spies had to accept employment, they had to find out some pretext or the other to go away. They employed the pretext of some disease or lunacy or did some such other things like setting fire or administering poison, so that they could disappear from the scene.

Checking of the information—The information given by the spies was, normally, checked. This was done in order to ascertain the verocity of the information and also to find out if spies were doing their job nicely. In case the information provided by different sources differed, the spies were either punished or removed from service.

Salaries of the spies—The salaries of the spies were paid by their department of espionage. Those spies that did the job of the kings were paid by them. If they did job of two kings or states, they were paid by both the states or the kings. The following lines throw ample light on this aspect of the organisation of espionage :—

> "Those spies who are referred to in book 4, 'Removal of Thorns' shall receive their salaries from those kings, (para, *i. e.* foreign), with whom they live as servants ; but when they aid both the states in the work of catching hold of robbers, they shall become recipient of salaries from both the states."

> "Those whose sons and wives are kept (as hostages) shall be made recipients of salaries from two states, and considered as under the mission of enemies. Purity of character of such persons shall be ascertained through persons of similar profession."

Spies inside the house—There were certain spies who were kept as spies inside the house of the ministers and the king. The following lines describe this situation very nicely :—

> "The hump-backed, the dwarf, the eunuch, women of accomplishment, the dumb, and various grades of Mlechcha caste shall be spies inside their houses."

Different kinds of spies and their jobs—Different kinds of spies had different kinds of duties. Given below is the description of the duties of such spies :—

> "Merchant spies inside forts ; saints and ascetics in the suburb of the forts ; the cultivator and the recluse in country parts ; herdsmen in the boundaries of the country ; in forest, forest dwellers, sramanas, and chiefs of wild tribes shall be stationed to ascertain the movements of enemies. All these spies shall be very quick in the despatch of their work."

> "Spies set up by foreign kings shall also be found out by local spies, spies by spies of like profession. It is the institution of espionage, secret and avowed, that set spies-in motion."

> "Those chiefs whose inimical design has been founded out by spies subordinate the king's cause shall, in view of affording opportunity to dedicate the spy of foreign kings, be made to live on the boundaries of the state."

In short, it may be said that the institution of espionage in ancient India was quite scientific and strong. It helped the state or the king to carry out its or his functions in a very successful manner.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, there was a definite provision for espionage. The detailed description about this institution is available from the Arthasastra of Kautilya.

2. The institution of espionage is as old as the Vedic literature or the Indian civilization.

3. This spy system was used not only for gathering information of foreign countries, but also about the officers and ministers who governed the affairs of the country or the state.

4. These were, normally, two types of spies :—

   (*a*) Those who looked after the internal conditions ; and

   (*b*). Those who gathered information about the foreign countries.

5. There were different categories of the spies. They were drawn from different classes of the society and discharged different functions.

6. Spies did not know each other. They passed on the information gathered by them to the head of the institution, who passed it on to the minister concerned.

7. Spies invariably belonged to those families who were royal to the king and the nation. Those persons who were not royal to the king and the state could not be appointed as spies.

8. If any spy gave wrong information, he was dismissed, removed or penalised.

9. There was provision for checking the information supplied by the spies.

10. There were also women spies who had to undertake very severe duties and obligations.

11. There were certain signs by which the spies could recognise each other. These signs helped them to go to certain places, if they were checked.

12. Spies were paid a handsome salary. They were paid by the king under whose employ they worked. If they were under two kings, they received their salaries from both the sources.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOCIALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Discuss the problem of Socialism in Ancient India.

Or

Q. Was there any trace of Socialism in Ancient India ? Describe briefly.

Ans. Socialism—Socialism is a modern concept. It came into force after the historic revolution of 1917 of Soviet Russia. Prior to that Robert Owen and other European Political thinkers had tried to bring the enforcement of the importance of the society as against individual. They had presented several interpreations about the force that bring about progress in the society. They had also tried to lay stress on the fact that means of production, means of distribution and exchange should be under the control of the society. It was this type of thinking that brought about Socialism.

Socialism in the modern concept is nothing but control of the society over the means of production, means of distribution and other sources of exchange and income. It envisages bringing in all social justices and finishing away of social injustices. In such a concept it is the society that is given any improvement as compared to individual. It has a peculiar concept of its own. In a socialist society, there is no place for private enterprise or private ownership of the property or private ownership of means of production or means of distribution, in the socialist society. Individual gets according to his needs and has to work according to his capacity. He has in fact to identify himself with the society. Social thinkers had held out the view that it becomes a natural burden of the socialistic order. In the socialist society the individual cannot treat himself apart from the society. In such a society, there is no difference of status. Every individual is treated at par with the others. In fact there is social justice, equality and freedom from exploitation.

Was socialism present in ancient India—Socialism of the modern concept may not be there in ancient India, but ownership of the means of production and means of distribution have in ancient India invariably wasted in society. Really speaking social ownership of the means of production and means of production and means of distribution is an integral part of the Indian coulture and it was more in ancient India Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid down that the King is the master of the land and the waters. This in fact indicates towards the social ownership of entire property. In those days King did not mean an individual, but it meant a representative of the society.

State Control—In a socialist society there was strong control of the state over different affairs of the society. In such a society only the means of production and means of distribution or control of the State that represent the society but also other fields of activities. For example in a socialist society education cannot be imparted by private individuals. It has to be under the control of the State and in accordance with the certain set norms. Kautilya has also said the same thing. He has described the land, forest wealth and the mineral wealth as the property of the State. He has laid stress on the State control of the important industries and trades. He has said all the things that grow on the land or on the water are the property of the State. This is the outline of the socialism in the ancient India. In many respects it resembles the modern concept of socialism nay the communalism.

Kautilya has also said that the ships and boats are the State property. He has futher stressed that they should be plied under the control of the State and should pay a particular amount by way of fees to the State.

He has also said that the market price should be under the control of the State so that the sellers or the traders may not increase the prices according to their will, on the other hand he has also laid down that deaf, dumb and decrepits should have special state assistance. In Dharmashastra there is provision for special measures to be adopted when some epidemic broke out. It has also laid down that it is the duty of the King to protect its subject at the time of calamity.

Thus we find that Kautilya has presented a picture of socialism of ancient India. In those days socialism might not have developed the way which has developed today, but the ideals of socialism were there The present century has not presented any new ideal of socialism. In India, social control over the means of production and means of distribution was not a very unknown feature.

Social Welfare—Social welfare or the welfare of the people has an intellectual part of the socialism. The individual forms the society and so their welfare is the welfare of the entire society. Today every socialist state lays great stress on the social services. Social services are state control. It was so in the ancient India also. In the books of ancient India, there is specific mention about the social services in those days. It was the duty of State or King to build the rest houses, to dig wells and tanks and plant trees on side of roads so that travellers may not have any difficulty. The main object of all these things was to provide maximum benefits to the citizens and the members of the society.

Widening of the objectives—In socialism individual interests cannot grow strong. They have to be made special services to the larger interest. In ancient India also we find that stress has been laid on widening the objectives of the society. It has been laid down in the ancient Indian books that higher interest should always have precedence over narrow and personal interest. In modern concept of socialism internationalism occupies a important place. It must have been so in the modern terms in ancient India but it was there, even in Vedas, it was said that all should have peace and welfare.

In ancient India it was the duty of the King to see the welfare of the subject, although the King ruled in ancient India, but he was not the final authority. It was the society that was supreme in Vedic times. There was a system of selection for kingship. This concept changed but in very few cases King could go beyond the control of the Society. If he did so he was threatened with the dire consequences or hell hereafter. We also find a mention of the fact that a King who did not bring about the welfare of the people could be thrown or deprive of his rights. There is also provision for the people to revolt against a cruel King.

Social obligations - In ancient India King was considered to be the trustee of the interest of the people. He cannot go beyond the wishes of the society. It was his duty to protect his subject against social disorder. He was also responsible for protecting weak against powerful King had certain other social obligations as well. All the social obligations very clearly pointed out towards the socialistic order of the society.

Welfare state—Welfare state is another name of the socialism. In a socialist society it is the state that works a responsible for all the people or the citizens. In such a state individuals have only to discharge their duties. All their interests are looked-after by the State. This is a modern concept in which social obligations of the State have gone up. In such a state, a huge amount of the budget is spent on the social services. It is also envisaged that in such a state a day will come when the entire budget will be spent on the welfare of the people. In such a state there will be no provision for force or obligation, whether such a dream will come true, is a thing of future.

Economic obligations—The king in ancient India was responsible for the economic welfare of his subject. It was his duty to provide food and shelter to his subject. He had to control the prices of the market so that the traders cannot enhance the prices according to their wills. He has also to see that his subject is not exploited. He was also responsible of standardisation of weights and measures to safeguard the property and wealth of his subject was also his obligation. This was the question of law and order and the king has to maintain it. He had therefore to provide for the police forces but this force could not go beyond the prescribed limit. It was the duty of the king to see that his policemen did not harass his subject but to protect their interests and look after their welfare.

Public health—It was also an obligation of the state or the king to look after the physical welfare of his subject. In that time the public health was the duty of the state or king. He was expected to check the spread of the epidemic and also to manage the services responsible for maintaining the health of the citizens and curing their ill-health. It was also the duty of the king to check food adulteration. He has right to lay down the regulation for checking of food adulteration and other responsibilities for bad health.

Industrial duties—It was the duty of the King or state to augment the national income. It can be possible only when certain trade and industries are allowed to grow within the State Agricultural produce could go up when fellow land was brought under the cultivation. It was therefore the state to do all these things and also bring about the development of the forest wealth and the mineral wealth development of all these sources of revenue was obligation of the State. It was also the duty of the King to bring about the development of other industrial and agricultural activities.

Development work—Socialism cannot progress without development work. It is therefore the duty of every state and its rulers to bring about the development of various means of communication, transport, trade, industry, agriculture, etc. In the books of ancient Indian Polity it has been laid down that the King should try to bring about the development of various aspects of the activities. This is nothing but an element of socialism.

From the foregoing discussions, it shall be quite evident that in ancient India there was the concept of the welfare state. It was not so in all the periods of history of ancient India but in most of the period it was so. It is also true that the socialism in one form or the other had found its place in the administration of society in ancient India. State was guided by the ideals of the social welfare. It was the duty of the King to do justice to his subject. The relationship of the King and his subject was determined by the Dharmashastra concept. This concept of ancient India was nothing but some sort of regulation about behaviour in the society. It is therefore quite natural for the people to think that socialism was there in ancient India.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Socialism is a modern concept that came into vogue after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

2. Socialism implies social control of the means of production and means of distribution.

3. In socialism the ownership of the entire property of the country vests in the society. Individuals did not have any control over means of production and distribution.

4. In ancient India socialism of the modern concept may not have been there but it was there in its own form.

5. In ancient Indian there was state control over different means of production and distribution. This is in fact a part of socialism.

6. Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid stress on State control over different means of production and distribution.

7. In socialism social welfare is the primary duty of the State. In Kautilya's Arthashastra and several other places we find mention of the fact that in ancient India great stress was laid on social welfare. In fact it was the duty of the State to have the social welfare as the primary duty.

8. In ancient India Kings were responsible for economic welfare of the people, public health, industrial development as well as other varieties of development. In fact in those days the society was expected to march on socialist lines.

9. In ancient India there was a good deal of socialism in the sense that State exercised control over different aspects of life and also means of production and distribution were under the control of the society.

CHAPTER XXVII

MAURYAN ADMINISTRATION

Q. Describe the Mauryan administration ?

Or

Q. Give a brief account of administration during the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya, as given in the Arthasastra of Kautilya ?

Ans. Historical retrospect—Chandra Gupta Maurya was the founder of the Mauryan empire. He ruled between the period 322-298 B. C. He was a very ambitious person and established an empire that extended beyond the limits of India. The following lines describe his empire :—

> "The empire of the Mauryas included the republican areas. Greek writers are of the opinion that Chandra Gupta I has taken Arabia from Seleucus. Ashoka in his inscriptions tells us that Antiochous was his neighbour. Antiochous held Syria and Persia. The Maurya empire thus extended up to Persia in the north west. In the south it extended up to the Tamil country."

Mauryan empire—Chandra Gupta established his empire after doing away with the republics that were small states at that time. The following lines from Kautilya's Arthasastra depict the policy of the Mauryan empire :—

> "Acquisition (conquest) of a Samgha, says Kautilya, is more desirable than an alliance of goodwill or military aid. Those which are united (in a league) should be treated with the policy of subsidy and peace, for they are invincible. Those which are not united should be conquered by army and disunion."

In other words, it may be said that Mauryan rulers believed in allowing only the strong republics to exist. They were not in favour of having weak republics.

Sources of information about the Mauryan administration—Sources of information about the Mauryan administration are the following :—

1. Arthasastra of Kautilya.
2. Narration of the Greek travellers.
3. Inscription of Ashoka.
4. History of Buddha literature.

Kautilya wrote down his book Arthasastra during Mauryan period. Megasthenese, an ambassador of Seleucus, stayed in the capital of Chandra Gupta for several years.

In Ashoka's inscriptions, there is a good deal of description about the administration during the Mauryan period. The history of the Buddha literature throws ample light on the administration during the Mauryan period.

Outline of the Mauryan administration—For the convenience of the administration, the whole of the Mauryan empire was divided into the following five parts or areas :—

1. **Uttarapath or northern region**—Its capital was Taxila and the administration of this area was carried out from this capital.
2. **Western region**—Its capital was Ujjaini.
3. **Dakshinpath or southern state**—Its capital was Swarnagiri. Its administration was also carried out from the capital.
4. **Kalinga**—Toshali was the capital of this region.
5. **Madhyadesh or the central region**—Patliputra was its capital.

Governors were appointed for each of these regions. They were called Kumars. Normally, they belonged to the royal blood.

Sub-regions—Apart from the larger regions enumerated above, there were smaller regions as well. These regions were called Mandals. For every Mandals, there was a Mahamatya or the Prime Minister. He worked under Kumar or the governor. This system of administration may be compared to the present day administration of the states of India.

Janapad or Gram (Village and town administration)—Then there were villages and other smaller areas under the administration of these regions. From the point of view of administration, these Janapads were also divided into several areas. Kautilya has given different names of these regions. In Mauryan empire, village was the administrative unit and the man who carried out the administration of the village was called Gramik. Then in every Janapad there was an administrator who was called Samaharta. In short, it may be said that there were different administrative units that carried out the administration at different levels.

Central administration—The whole of the Mauryan empire had a strong centre. It was a centrally administered state. No doubt, the whole of the administration was decentralized and there were smaller regions, yet a lot of power was concentrated in the central administration.

Raja or the king—He was the highest and most powerful ruler of the state. He was, in fact, the sovereign and carried out the administration of the state. His eldest son was the heir-apparent.

The king was expected to carry out all the administration.

Qualities of the king according to Kautilya—Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid down the qualities of a king. A king was expected to have been born in a high family. He was to be powerful, truthful, good at conversation and follower of high ideals and God-fear. He was also to possess certain other qualities. This was the ideal that the king was expected to achieve. In normal practice, it is difficult for a king to possess all these qualities.

Heir-apparent or Raja Kumar—He was also expected to possess certain qualities. There was a specific post prescribed for the training of the Raja Kumar. He was expected to acquire the knowledge of the following :—

1. Vedas.
2. Philosophy and Economics.
3. Science of Figures.
4. Politics and Polity.
5. He was also expected to be trained in the art of warfare and the use of the arms.

Daily routine of the king—Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid down a very strict routine of the king. He has done so in order to keep the king engaged in the task of the welfare of his subjects. He has also laid down specific regulations for the protection of the king.

Council of Ministers or Cabinet—In the Mauryan period, cabinet or the council of ministers was inevitable or was an important part of the administration. Kautilya in his Arthasastra has said that the state is like a chariot whose one wheel is the king and the other is the Sachiv or the Prime Minister. He has also laid down that it was necessary to proper advice to the king and so he has laid down that the council of ministers must be there.

Qualifications of the ministers—Kautilya in his Arthasastra has also laid down the qualifications of the ministers. These ministers were to be from amongst the learned Brahmanas, people of the royal family and other loyal subjects of the king.

Among the seven elements of the state, ancient Indian writers of Polity have made the council of ministers or the cabinet as an inevitable and important element.

Number of the ministers—Kautilya has in his Arthasastra not laid down any specific number of the ministers. Manu has, of course, fixed it at 12. Brahaspati has fixed this number at 16. Certain other writers have raised it 20. These ministers have been called the eyes of the king. Indra has been described as a person having 100 eyes. Their eyes were nothing but his ministers or the members of the council of ministers or the cabinet.

Kautilya was not at all in favour of a large cabinet and it was quite natural for him. A large cabinet cannot be helpful in arriving at a decision. Decisions arrived at by a large body cannot be kept secret and so Kautilya pleaded for a smaller cabinet.

Cabinet as the main machinery of administration—Cabinet was the main machinery of administration. The entire administration was carried out by the cabinet. In the cabinet meetings, all the ministers took part, but if someone could not be present, his advice was sought. There was a President of the council of ministers. Then there was a secretary.

Chief Minister or Pradhan Mantri—He was the most important minister and the whole of the administration was carried by him.

Mode of appointment of the ministers—In Mauryan period, ministers were appointed in a prescribed manner. This manner has been laid down by Kautilya in his Arthasastra. He has also laid down the remuneration of these ministers.

From the description of the cabinet in the Arthasastra, we can very safely reach the conclusion that in Mauryan period, cabinet was a very strong body. It carried out the administration, yet it could not overrule the king. In fact, the ministers were appointed by the king and so they could not go against the wishes of the king.

Administrative departments—In the Central administration, during the Mauryan period, there were different departments. These departments have been described as Teeth by Kautilya. The head of each state was called Mahamaty. Kautilya has given description about 18 departments. So there were 18 departments or Mahamatyas. Each minister had one department under him.

Mantri and probit—These were two different offices. Sometimes they were also combined. Each of the officer was paid 4,000 Panas per month. They discharged the following functions :—

1. Appointed ambassadors in different countries.
2. Carried out the foreign policy.
3. Looked after the education and its administration.
4. Controlled other departments.

Samaharta—The person who conducted the administration of different Janapadas was called Samaharta. He was, in fact, the highest revenue authority in the Mauryan period. He collected the taxes and the revenue. It means that he collected the land revenue, revenue from the trade and industry, taxes levied on forest wealth and other revenue. He had the following officers under him :—

1. **Shulkadhyaksha or Tax Collector**—He was like an officer responsible for the collection of taxes levied on trade and industry.

2. **Pautvadhyaksha**—This officer controlled the weights and measures prevalent in the state.

3. **Maunadhyaksha**—He controlled the measurements employed for measuring the time and place in different ways.

4. **Sutradhyaksha**—He was like a Social Welfare Officer. He looked after the trade and the industry carried out by the state for the protection of the widows, decrepits, deaf and dumb, prisoners etc.

5. **Sitadhyaksha**—He was the officer incharge for the development of the agriculture. He looked after the state farms and also looked after the overall development of agriculture.

6. **Suradhyaksha or Excise Officer**—He looked after the distillation and sale of wine.

7. **Sunadhyaksha**—This officer looked after the slaughter houses, their administration, sanitation, etc.

8. **Ganinadhyaksha or the officer Incharge for regulating the trade of the prostitutes**—During Mauryan period, prostitutes were employed for political purposes as well. They were part of the espionage system. There was an officer who regulated the activities of these prostitutes.

9. **Mudradhyaksha**—This is bound to be a standardized system of exchange. Currency is the surest medium for this. There was an officer who looked after this aspect of activity.

10. **Vivitadhyaksha or the Officer Incharge of the grazing grounds**—It was a state duty during Mauryan period to provide the grazing grounds to the animals, provide drinking water to them and also look after the security of the business men's property.

11. **Navadhyaksha**—There was an officer responsible for looking after the water-ways. He determined the levy on the means of communication employed for water-ways.

12. **Godadhyaksha or the Officer Incharge of animal husbandry**—This officer was responsible for the protection of cow and other species of usual animals. He also looked after the Gaushalas run by the state.

13. **Ashwadhyaksha or the officer Incharge of the horses**—There was an officer incharge of the stable. He looked after the horses and maintained them. He had to apply his discretion to see to it that only useful horses were protected and kept in the stable.

14. **Astikadhyaksha or the Officer Incharge of elephants**—Elephants in ancient India, and specially in Mauryan times, were used for army. States, therefore, made provision for catching, training and maintaining the elephants.

15. **Forest officer**—There was also an officer incharge for looking after the forest wealth.

16. **Marketing Officer or Officer Incharge of trade**—In Mauryan period, there was an officer who controlled the trade—internal as well as external. He also helped the traders to find new markets and avenues of the sale of the things or goods manufactured by them in the country. He was called Panyadhyaksha.

17. **Lakshnadhyaksha or Mint Officer**—There was an officer in the Mauryan period who controlled the currency and the minting of the coins. He was responsible for the currency of the king.

18. **Askradhyaksha or the Excavation Officer**—It is a known fact that in India wealth was buried under ground. There was an officer incharge of excavation of such wealth. He tried his best to find out the wealth hidden under ground.

19. **Devtadhyaksha or Temple Officer**—This officer was responsible for looking after the maintenance and upkeep of the places of worship.

20. **Sauvarnik or Gold officer**—This officer tried to make arrangement for the mint of the Mauryan rulers.

All these officers worked under Samaharta whose office was very important.

Sannidhata or Treasury officer—This officer was responsible for the treasury of the state. He put gold, silver and other precious metals at a safe place and also made arrangement for the sale of the crop etc. received by way of tax. His duty was to cash everything and put in the treasury of the state.

Gope–He was another officer of this very department. He was responsible for keeping details of the population and also the figures of the animal wealth of the villages.

Senapati or the Minister Incharge of Warfare—He was, in fact, the minister in charge of the army and the entire affairs concerning war. According to Kautilya, the entire department of warfare has been kept under the commanding officer. On the one hand, he was expected to be expert at conducting the warfare, but, on the other, he was also expected to be capable of maintaining the discipline of the army during peace time. Kautilya has laid down 4,000 panas as his salary.

Yuvaraja or heir-apparent—He was the officer of the first category and the successor to the king. He helped the king in carrying out the administration of the state. He received about 4,000 panas per month. Sometimes, he also acted as Regent.

Pradeshtha or Vigilance Officer—This officer kept a vigil on the officers and other persons responsible for the working of the various departments.

Nayak or the Chief of the Army Staff—He conducted the army on the battlefield. He was also responsible for building of the cantonments and doing other things connected with it. Kautilya has laid down that he should receive a salary of 12,000 panas per year.

Vyabarik or the Head of the Religious Court—He was head of the religious court and was also called Dharmasta.

Karmantik—He conducted and looked after the work of the government factories. In other words, he was the Works Manager of the state factories.

President of the Council of Ministers or Mantri Parished Adhyaksha—He was a very important officer during the Mauryan empire. He was one of the elements of the state. He presided over the meeting of the cabinet.

Dandapal or the Officer Incharge of the Army—Army was under the control of this officer. He managed the army and tried to meet the requirement of the forces.

Antapala or the Officer Incharge of the Frontiers—He was responsible for the protection of the frontiers of the state.

Durgapal or the Officer Incharge of the Security of the Forts—He was responsible for the security of the forts.

Nagaraka or the Civil Administrator—For running the internal administration of every state, an officer by the name of Nagaraka was appointed. He was a very important officer, because the entire administration of the capital or the metropolice was his responsibility. He had under him several officers like Gope.

Prashastah or Copying Officer—There was a department during the Mauryan period to put in black and white the orders of the state. The chief officer of this department was called Prashastah. The officer under him was called Ukshapatal.

Dawarik or Officer Incharge of the Gate—In order to get entry into the king's palace, a passport had to be secured. The incharge of the gate issued these passports. He also looked after other jobs connected with the palace.

Antarvashik or the Chief of the Bodyguards—He was the chief of the bodyguards of the king. He was responsible for the security of the king inside the palace.

Atvik or Head of the Guerilla Army—During the Mauryan period, the post of the Atvik was very important. He was considered to be one of the 18 Teerthas. Kautilya has given last place to Atvik army in the rank of the army. It was used for plundering or robbery.

Judicial Administration During Mauryan Period—Mauryans had a very well organised judicial system. That judicial system had filtered down in certain respects even in the present time. The smallest unit in the judicial system of the Mauryan times was the village court. Over the village court, there were Sangrahan courts, and obver them Donamukh courts and above those Janapad Sandhi courts.

King the Highest Seat of Justice—The king during Mauryan period was considered to be the highest court of appeal. He had a chain of courts under him. These courts, according to Arthasastra, were of two categories :—

1. Dharmasthir of Civil Courts ; and
2. Kantakshodan or Criminal Courts.

Dharmasthir or Civil Courts—The judge of these courts was called Dharmastha or the Civil Judge. Kautilya has laid down that the Civil Judge should try to do the job of the Devas, Brahmanas, ascetics, women, infirm, children and sick, etc. Normally, in these courts the following suits were heard :—

(*a*) Cases concerning mutual dealings between the parties.
(*b*) Cases against agreements and their infringement.
(*c*) Cases regarding rights and duties of the employers.
(*d*) Cases about rights and duties of the employees.
(*e*) Matters pertaining to slaves and slavery.
(*f*) Cases about loans, acquisition, collection etc.
(*g*) Cases about assault, defamation, illegal sale of the property, ownership of the property etc.
(*h*) Disputes about gambling, delimitation, buildings, marriages.
(*i*) Disputed about merchantile relationship, division of property, succession of property etc.

Criminal Courts or Kantakshodhan Courts—These courts were essentially criminal courts. As the name indicates, these were the courts that tried to do away with the difficulties and problems of the people that were likely to cause harm to them. The judge of such court was called 'Pradeshta'. These courts heard the cases about the following :—

(*a*) Protection of the workers and craftsmen.
(*b*) Protection of the businessmen.
(*c*) Disputes pertaining to the national calamities and troubles.
(*d*) Suppression of people carrying out illicit trades.
(*e*) Arrest of culprits by the spies.
(*f*) Cases about murder and post-mortem.
(*g*) Cases about mutilation of bodies, rape etc.

In short, it may be said that almost all the cases that are at present dealt with by the criminal courts were filed in these courts during the Mauryan period :—

Punishment—Different type of punishment was awarded under different circumstances and for different crimes. Normally, following types of punishments were awarded :—

(*a*) Death penalty.
(*b*) Fine.
(*c*) Mutilation of body.

According to the Arthasastra of Kautilya, the culprits were divided in two categories : –

(*a*) Ardent cirminals.
(*b*) Normal or weak criminals.

Kautilya has prescribed that ardent prisoners should be inflicted more of physical pain. He has, no doubt, laid down that weak or soft type of criminals may be awarded death penalty.

Procedure in the court of law—When a case was presented before a court, normally, its date was noted down. After that, the nature of the dispute was noted. Facts about the place of occurrence, the amount involved, the cause and credentials of the plaintiff and the defendants, the place of residence of the parties etc. were noted down.

Need for evidence—In Mauryan times, evidence was very much needed for the decision of the case by a court. Manu has stated that witness is an important element of evidence. The witness had to take oath before the judge for verocity of his statement. Those gave wrong evidence were likely to be fined.

The defendant was, normally, given time ranging from a week to three weeks If there was demand for more time, normally, fine was imposed

Guiding Principles for the Judges—The judges for the civil as well as criminal courts during Mauryan period has to be guided by certain principles. These principles are enumerated below :–

(*a*) Those judges who gave wrong judgments were likely to be penalized. They had to act in a free, impartial and unbiased manner.

(*b*) Judges had to earn confidence of the people. They were expected to be courteous in behaviour. It was not expected of the judges that they would rebuke the plaintiff or the defendant. If any of the judges did so, he was likely to be penalized.

(*c*) Judges in those days were expected to be quite judicious, courteous and to the point. They were not expected to harass the parties that had presented their case before the court.

Qualities of the judges—Judges were expected to possess the following qualities :—

(*a*) Freedom, impartiality, frankness and courage.

(*b*) They were to be free from the influences.

(*c*) They were also expected to be intelligent and able to find out the truth of the case. They were not to depend upon the evidence or the statements of the witnesses only.

The judges during Mauryan period were allowed to use the services of the spies. This was done in order to enable them to arrive at correct judgment.

Spies were also deputed to keep a watch on the activities of the judges. This helped the state to have proper assessment of the character and the behaviour of the judges.

In short, it may be said that in the Mauryan period the judicial system had developed to a very great extent. It may be said that judiciary in those days was quite up-to-date and in many respects modern.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION DURING MAURYAN PERIOD

Q. Describe briefly the military administration of the Mauryan empire ?

Ans. "If, as Arrian, has pointed out each chariot carried two soldiers, besides the driver, and an elephant carrying three archers, besides the mahout, then the total number of men in Chandra Gupta's army would be 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 horsemen, 36,000 men with elephants, and 24,000 men with the chariots, totalling 6,90,000 in all exclusive followers and attendants".[51]

Huge army—Chandra Gupta Maurya as well as his successors had a huge army. In fact, Chandra Gupta Maurya had established the empire with the help of his strong army. He was responsible for the downfall of Nanda dynasty and the establishment of Mauryan dynasty. In this army, there were about 6,00,000 infantry men, 30,000 horsemen and 9,000 elephants with riders. There were about 8,000 chariots that carried out soldiers.

Need for force— Kautilya in his Arthasastra has laid down that every king has to face two types of calamities :—

(*a*) Internal calamities ; and
(*b*) External calamities.

In order to face both these types of calamities and eventualities, the king has to maintain a force or army. He has said that the strength of the army is more helpful than the strength of friends.

Kinds of forces or organs of the army—Chanakya has laid down the following six type of forces :—

(*a*) Maul Bal.
(*b*) Bhoot Bal.
(*c*) Sreni Bal.
(*d*) Shatru Bal.
(*e*) Mitra Bal.
(*f*) Atvi Bal.

Organs of the army—Chanakya has given out four organs of the army :—

(*a*) Elephant rider soldiers.
(*b*) Horsemen or cavalry.
(*c*) Chariot army.
(*d*) Infantry.

He has described all these four forces by the name of Chaturang Bal. Chanakya has laid great stress on the elephant force or the army of the elephants. In those days victory of the king very much depended on the elephants and their art of warfare. Kautilya has also supported the view of Chanakya in this regard. Kautilya has also mentioned the soldiers riding camels and mules.

Head of the army - Commander-in-Chief or the Senapati was the head of the army. He was to be a person very good at war craft. He was also expected to maintain discipline in the army, when it was peace time. He had to keep the army ready for invasion or defence at a very short notice. He was also expected to be capable of developing the army on the battlefield. Apart from the Commander-in-Chief or the Senapati, Kautilya has also mentioned the following officers of the army :—

(*a*) **Prashastah or administrator**—Probably, he was responsible for the administration on the army. He resembled the Chief of the Staff.

(*b*) **Mukhya**—He was, probably, like the main person responsible for the upkeep of the army.

(*c*) **Naik**—He resembled the brigadier or the general who had to lead the army.

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[51] Dr. Radhakumud-Mukherji—'Chandra Gupta Maurya And His Times'.

Kautilya has laid down that the army was to comprise of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Kautilya was not very much in favour of having Brahmanas in the army. He thought that they were quite soft hearted and could be influenced by entreaties and respects. Kautilya has laid great stress on the army manned by Kshatriyas.

Organisation of the army on the battlefield—Kautilya was very thorough in giving out his views about the army. He has given a detailed description of deploying the army on the battlefield. He has laid down the distance that should be there between one soldier and the other. He has also laid down the distance between two cavalry men. Similarly, he has laid down the distance between two elephant riding soldiers.

Importance of the horses in army—In the Mauryan period, horses were very important for war purposes. Kautilya has, therefore, laid down that there should be a special officer responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the horses that were to be utilised for army. He has given a detailed description about the qualifications and other qualities of the horses. He has also given out other details. He has given a detailed description about the breeds of the horses and their utility in the warefare.

Training of the horses—According to Kautilya, horses should be properly trained. The training, that was to be imparted to them, was to be of different variety. It was not to be of an ordinary type. It was expected to be thorough, scientific and upto-date.

Importance of the elephants in the Mauryan army—During Mauryan period, it was realised that elephant was the greatest and the most valuable assets for an army. Victories of the armies in those days depended upon the elephants A defeat could be converted into victory if the elephants acted properly. Kautilya has, therefore, suggested that there should be a special officer to look after the job of the maintenance and upkeep of the elephants. He was an officer who looked after the upkeep, maintenance, training and other requirements of the elephants.

Kautilya has, in his Arthasastra, given description about the kinds, breeds, and places where the elephants are found According to Kautilya, elephants, like the horses, were also of the three categories.

Kautilya has also given description about the height, age, physical formation of the body and the tusks of the elephants etc.

Infantry and cavalry—In the Mauryan times, infantry as well as cavalry occupied an important place in the army. In fact, the elephant rider-soldiers, cavalry men and infantry men joined together to form a unit of the army. In this context, Kautilya, in his Arthasastra, has given description of the officers of these units of the army.

Different departments of the army—In Mauryan times, army had two departments :—

(*a*) Main departments or main units ; and

(*b*) Subsidiary departments or units.

The main departments included the actual fighters while the subsidiary departments included persons who were expected to help the fighting forces. The persons who were responsible for pitching tents, constructing bridges, clearing roads etc. belonged to the subsidiary departments of the army. There were doctors as well as persons responsible for the health of the fighting forces. Kautilya has given description of the doctors as well as nurses. The doctors treated the wounded animals as well as the soldiers while the nurses looked after the wounded soldiers. There is also description about surgery, the surgical instruments, bandages etc. He has also laid down the duties of these medical officers and nurses.

Mauryan army according to Megasthenese—Megasthenese given a detailed description of the Mauryan army. He had laid down that there was an office that controlled the warfare. Normally, this office consisted of 30 persons who under them had 6 departments. Each department had five members Megasthenese has given description of 6 boards or sections of the army, which controlled different departments. These departments controlled the following :—

1. Infantry.
2. Cavalry.
3. War chariots.
4. War elephants.
5. Transport department.
6. Board that looked after the naval unity of the army.

The following lines describe this picture more vividly :—

> "They arranged for the bullock trains, which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum and others who carry gongs ; grooms also for the horses and mechanists for other assistance. To the sound of the gongs they send out toragers to bring in across, and by a system of reward and punishment ensure the work being done with despatch and safety."

Provincial administration—The whole of the Mauryan empire was divided into different provinces. It was natural. The empire had a huge area under it and so in the interest of efficiency of administration, the whole of the empire was divided into smaller units. We have already seen that there were 18 departments at the Centre. These departments were known as Tirthas. There was a Minister Incharge of each department and the king was the head of everything. He was, in fact, the sovereign.

Different provinces and their administration—Mauryan empire, as already stated, was divided into different provinces. Each province had its own administration. From the inscription of Ashoka, we come to the conclusion that the whole of the Mauryan empire was divided into five provinces :—

1. **Uttrapath or Northern State**—Takshila was the capital of this province.
2. **Western Province**—Ujjaini was the capital of this province.
3. **Southern Province**—Suvarnagiri was the capital of this province.
4. **Kalinga**—Tosali was the capital of this province. This province, more or less, conformed to the present state of Orissa.
5. **Central Province**—It was, in fact, the heart of the Mauryan empire. Patliputra was the capital of this province.

Governor—Every province had a governor. He was the representative of the emperor. Normally, a prince was appointed the governor of a province. It was done in order to train the princes and also to avoid rivalry between the princes. Ashoka himself had been the governor of Ujjaini as well as Takshila.

Certain other features of the provincial administration during Mauryan empire—Some of the writers of ancient Indian polity have laid down that there were 9 to 10 provinces of the Mauryan empire. Every province was under the rule of a governor. There was also a cabinet that advised, helped and assisted in the administration of the province. Normally, all these authorities were under the Central Cabinet.

The governors of the princes were responsible for maintaining law and order of the province, collection of the central revenue, carried out the administration according to the policies of the Central Government, keep a watch on different sections of the society and report to the Central Government about the conditions of the province. These representatives helped the central adminstration to formulate their policies about these provinces.

These provincial administrations had certain amount of autonomy. But it is difficult to put forward the degree or the amount of autonomy, that was enjoyed by these provinces.

Local Administration During Mauryan Empire—Local administration during Mauryan empire was divided into two categories :—

1. City administration.
2. Village administration..

It means that in those days the whole of the country had been divided into two different areas or types of areas :—

(*a*) Rural areas ; and

(*b*) Urban areas.

Megasthenese has given a vivid description of the city administration of Patliputra. This throws ample light on the city administration during Mauryan period.

Given below is a brief description of the city administration :—

1. Nagrik or the City Officer—For every city during Mauryan period, there was an officer called Nagrik. He carried out the administration of the city. Normally, he carried out the administration of the capital. He was appointed by the Central Government.

2. Sthanik or Local Administrator—The whole of the city was divided into certain main parts. Normally, there used to be four parts and one local officer was responsible for the administration of that area. It means that normally in every city or metro police, there used to be four Sthaniks or Local Administrators. They helped the City Administrator in the administration of the city.

3. Gopa—Normally, there was an officer to look after 10 to 20 families It means that there was complete decentralization of the administration. Gopa kept the record of everything about the families to be under his administration.

Law and order—Normally, Nagrik was responsible for maintaining law and order. There were certain set rules about it. Those persons who came to stay at night, had to be reported about to the Gopa. It was done in order to avoid the entry of undesirables in the city. It was binding on the administrators of the guest houses and the dharmshalas to see it that only good persons stayed there. Generally, scholars or Brahmanas, travellers, businessmen and others stayed in these Dharmshalas.

Businessmen who came to stay with their local contracts, had to report to the local administrator.

Wine as well as prostitutes could make their acquaintants stay with them in the night, but they too had to report to the local authorities about the persons who indulged in extraordinary expenditure.

Certain rules and regulations about the administration of the city—Kautilya in his Arthasastra has also given certain rules and regulations about the administration of the city. These rules and regulations are being enumerated below :—

Coming and stay of guests—Guests during Mauryan period were kept an eye upon. It was the duty of the hosts as well as of other persons with whom the guests stayed to inform the Gopa or other officers responsible for the administration of the city about those guests. If some hosts failed to do this duty, they were find.

Duties of the doctors—The doctors that carried out any treatment of a person for some secret disease, caused by taking of too such of intoxicant or starvation, had to report about the condition, of the patient to the officers responsible for the administration of the city. It was done in order to check spread of vulnerable diseases and its causes.

Nocturnal visits—During Mauryan period, Nocturnal visits were very much regulated. There were set rules about it. There was an indicator-signal of the time. Nobody could move about during the prohibited period. If any person was found loitering about near the palace, after mid-night, he was fined. Similarly if somebody loitered outside the limits of the town, he was fined four times.

If a person was caught, while climbing the walls meant for the protection of the treasury, he was fined heavily.

Under special circumstances, there was freedom of the movement. If there was a case of delivery, normally, persons, could move about to seek the help of the maid servant. Similarly, doctors could be called in at any time in the night. In order to dispose of the dead body, its relatives could move about. Similarly, people could move about for extinguishing the fire and enjoying the show of the drama.

Permit system—There was permit system for the movement at night. Only those persons, who held these permits could move in the night.

There was no such restriction on the eve of days of national importance. But those persons who were found in disguise, were taken to task.

Vigilance over persons of bad character—There was espionage system that kept an eye upon the persons with bad character. In this regard, the following lines throw more light :—

> "Spies shall also make a search for suspicious persons in the interior of deserted houses, in the workshops or houses of Vinters and sellers of cooked rice and flesh, in gambling houses, and in the abode of heretics."[52]

Precaution against fire—In those days there were detailed regulations about protection against fire. The following lines give a clear description of the rules and regulations in this regard :—

> "Kindling of fire shall be prohibited during the two middle-most parts of day time, divided into for equal parts during the Summer. A fine of 1/8 of a pana shall be imposed for kindling fire at such a time.
>
> Masters of houses may carry on cooking operation outside their houses.
>
> (If a house owner is not found to have ready with him) five water pots (pancha, ghatinam), a kumbha, a drona, a ladder, an axe, a winnowing basket, a hook (such as is used to drive an elephant), pincers, (kachagrahini), and a leather bag (drti), he shall be fined one-fourth of a pana.

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52. 'Arthasastra'—Kautilya, page 176.

> They shall also remove thatched roofs. Those who work by fire (blacksmiths) shall all live together in a single locality.
>
> Each house-owner shall ever be present (at night) at the door of his own house.
>
> Vessels filled with water shall be kept in thousands in a row without confusion, not only in big streets and at places where four roads meet, but also in front of the royal buildings (rajaparigraheshu).
>
> Any house-owner who does not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire of whatever is burning shall be fined 12 panas; and a renter (avakrayī, *i. e.* one who has occupied a house for rent) not running to extinguish fire shall be fined 6 panas.
>
> Whoever carelessly sets fire (to a house) shall be fined 54 panas; but he who intentionally sets fire (to a house) shall be thrown into fire."[53]

Regulations about sanitation of the city—In those days great stress was laid on the sanitation of the city. There were definite rules about the sanitation and cleanliness of the town. Those persons who infringed these rules were penalised. The following lines from Kautilya's Arthasastra describe this thing :—

> "Whoever throws dirt in the street shall be punished with a fine of one-eighth of a pana; whoever causes mire or water to collect in the street shall be fined one-fourth of a pana; whoever commits the above offences in the king's road (rajamarga) shall be punished with double the above fines.
>
> Whoever excretes faeces in places of pilgrimage, reservoirs of water, temples, and royal buildings shall be punished with fines rising from one pana and upwards in the order of the offences; but when such excretions are due to the use of medicine or to disease, no punishment shall be imposed.
>
> Whoever throws inside the city the carcass of animals, such as a cat, dog, mungoose, and a snake shall be fined 3 panas; of animals such as an ass, a camel, a mule, and cattle shall be fined 6 panas; and human corpse shall be punished with a fine of 50 panas.
>
> When a dead body is taken out of a city through a gate other than the usual or prescribed one or through a path other than the prescribed path, the first amercement shall be imposed; and those who guard the gates (through which the dead body is taken out) shall be fined 200 panas.
>
> When a dead body is interred or cremated beyond the burial or cremation grounds, a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed.[54]

Administration of the city of Pataliputra—The administration of Pataliputra was carried out in the best possible manner. Really speaking, Pataliputra was the most important city of the Mauryan empire and so its administration was carried out in the best possible way.

Decentralization of administration—Administration of Pataliputra was, in fact, decentralized. The authority of administration vested in different committees. These committees functioned in a democratic manner.

Boundary of the city—It was a rich and prosperous city with properly defined boundaries. It was surrounded by canal that was 600 wide and 30′ deep. There was rampart made of wood all around it. There were 54 doors and 570 domes. Normally, difference between two domes was 235′.

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53. 'Arthasastra'—Kautilya, page 177.
54. 'Arthasastra'—Kautilya, pages 177-178.

Different committees for different aspects of administration—According to Megasthenese, the administration of Pataliputra was carried out by 6 committees which were responsible for various aspects of the life of the town. Normally, there were five members in each committee. In all, there were 30 members of the six committees. Given below is description of the different committees as enumerated by Magasthenese :—

1. **Industrial and artisan committee**—There was a committee responsible for industrial and artisan activities. This committee, on the one hand, looked after the work of the persons engaged in the industry as well as art and craft. On the other hand, it tried to lay down rules and regulations about the labourers, artisans and those responsible for marketing the finished goods. If also laid down hours of work, wages and other things concerning the industry and art and craft.

2. **Foreigner's committee**—The number of foreigners visiting Pataliputra was not small. There was, therefore, a committee responsible for looking after the affairs of the foreigners. It kept an eye on them. On the other hand, it also tried to provide them with all facilities. In case a foreigner died in Pataliputra, his dead body was disposed of an accordance with the traditions and customs of the country to which the deceased belonged. There were also set rules and regulations about the property of the foreigners.

3. **Census committee**—There was a committee that maintained the record of the birth and death of the people. It was also responsible for keeping a record of the population of the town.

4. **Market committee**—In Pataliputra, during Mauryan period, things were sold according to definite rules and regulations ; the rates were specifically laid down. There were standardized weights and measures. Businessmen had to be guided by the rules and regulations put forward by the Market Committee. Businessmen could not sell eatables with the prior sanction of this committee.

5. **Business Vigilance committee**—There was a committee that kept strict watch on the activities of the business community. This was the reason the businessmen did not sell adulterated goods. It also saw to it that old things were not sold out as new ones. Those businessmen who indulged in such malpractices, were penalized.

6. **Sales tax committee**—This committee was responsible for the realisation of the sales tax. Things sold were to be taxed. Similarly, businessmen who carried out trade had also to pay a tax. Normally, it was 10 per cent of the total cost of the things. This committee was responsible for realisation of the tax.

Probably, there was a City Council consisting of 30 members of all the different committees. It is not specifically laid down, along with the description of these committees, but at another place there is a description of a Paura Sabha or a Citizens' Council. From this description it may be inferred that the administration of the cities was carried it may be inferred that the administration of the cities was carried out in the manner the administration of Pataliputra was carried out.

Village administration—India since long has been divided into two types of areas, namely, Urban area and Rural area. Our seventy per cent of the population even today resides in villages. This was true of the Mauryan times as well. The administration of village was, therefore, an important unit of administration.

Village autonomy—Villages during Mauryan period enjoyed a good deal of internal autonomy. There were village panchayats or sabhas that carried out the administration of the villages.

In Arthasastra, we find the description of a village administrator called Gramik. We do not have a specific record of the fact whether this officer was appointed by the Central Government or he was elected by the village council. But this is certain that the post of the Gramik was an important office. It has been laid down in Arthasastra that if a Gramik or the village administrator moved out of the village, important people of the village must accompany him. He carried out the administration of the village, with the help of the village aldermen. The committee of the aldermen helped the Gramik to carry out the administration. Small disputes of the village were solved by village aldermen. Very important issues were left to be decided by the committee or the Gramik. Even Gramik was not above law. If he did anything illegal, he was penalized for it. In Arthasastra, there is description of the fact that if the Gramik turned out any person, other than one with a bad character, out of the village, he was fined 24 panas. He, of course, had a right to impose fines for small offences.

Importance of the laws framed by the Gram Sabha—Gram Sabhas framed rules and regulations. These rules and regulations were accepted even by the central administration. There was a regular office of the Gram Sabha. In this office the record about the population, the land under cultivation, record about the ownership of the land, crops etc. were maintained. There was a village court as well. Small disputes were no doubt decided by the village aldermen but important disputes were decided by the village court, which consisted of three official and three non-official judges or Panchas.

It was the duty of the village aldermen to provide for recreation to the villagers, maintain and look after the temples and other places of worship and also look after the property of the minor.

Every village had a government officer called Gopa. He was responsible for the delimitation of the boundaries of the village, record about the population and other allied matters.

Unit of five villagers or Panch Grami—During Mauryan period, there was a practice of organising five villages into one administrative unit. The head of such a unit was called Pancha Grami.

There was also a practice of grouping 200 villages into one unit. Such a unit was called Kharvatik. Similarly, a group of 400 villages was called Dronmukh and a group of 800 villages was under the central administration.

Guilds of the traders and artisans—In the Mauryan period, there were organisations of the traders, businessmen and artisans. These organisations were called guilds. They had their own rules and regulations and they guided the work of their members. They also controlled the activities of their members. Such organisations were recognized by the state or the government. These organisations were considered competent enough to penalise their members. In Arthasastra, we have a detailed description about such organisations. Such organisations were run by the members of those trades. There were ministers who looked after these departments. Only such men who enjoyed the confidence of these organisations and the class of these people were appointed ministers.

In short, it may, therefore, be said that the Mauryan administration had variety as well as compactness. Although the empire was spread far and wide, yet the administration was a combination of centralization as well as decentralization.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Mauryan empire was originally established by Chandra Gupta Maurya. It included parts of Central Asian countries.

2. Mauryan empire was based on the principle of providing a centralised administration to this vast area of land.

3. There are different sources of information about the working of the Mauryan empire, but the most important sources are as follows :—

(*a*) Arthasastra of Kautilya.
(*b*) Narration of the Greek travellers.
(*c*) Inscriptions of Ashoka.
(*d*) History of Bauddha literature.

4. The Mauryan empire was divided into five regions and similarly the whole of administration was split up into six regions :—

(*a*) Uttarapath or Northern region.
(*b*) Western region.
(*c*) Dakshinapath or Southern region.
(*d*) Kaling.
(*e*) Madhya Desh or Central region.

5. These regions were further divided into sub-regions.

6. The central administration was carried out in the name of the king or the Raja, who was the sovereign.

7. The king was expected to possess certain qualities that were good for the society.

8. There was also an heir-apparent or the immediate successor of the king. He was also to possess certain qualities.

9. The life of the king was divided into a daily routine which mostly consisted of the activities about the welfare of the state.

10. There was a council of ministers, who advised and helped the king to carry out the administration of the state. This cabinet was the chief administrative machinery.

11. The Chief Minister was the head of the cabinet.

12. There were different departments for the convenience of the administration. These departments dealt with the different aspects of the life of the society and the state. Different ministers were responsible for different departments, each being under one.

13. In Arthasastra, there is description of 20 such officers.

14. Then there were other officers who worked under other ministers.

15. The judicial administration during Mauryan period was conducted in the name of the king. He was the highest court of appeal.

16. Then the courts were of two categories :—

(*a*) Criminal courts ; and
(*b*) Civil courts.

17. Different types of punishment were awarded for different types of crimes.

18. There was a definite procedure of the law courts. Evidence formed an important part of the administration of justice.

19. The judges were supposed to possess certain qualities and were guided by certain principles

20. The activities of the judges were watched by the spies who were under the king.

21. In Mauryan period, there was a strong army, which was scientifically organised. Kautilya in his Arthasastra, has given a detailed description about the need of the army as well as its functions.

22. Normally, there were four organs of the army :—

(*a*) Elephant and its rider soldiers.
(*b*) Horsemen or cavalry.
(*c*) Chariot army.
(*d*) Infantry.

23 There were different officers of the army. These officers looked after the army during peace as well as war.

24. Kautilya has given a detailed description about the development of the army as well as its organisation.

25. Megasthenese, the famous Greek traveller, has also given a brief description of the Mauryan army.

26. We have already seen that the whole of the Mauryan empire was divided into different provinces, each province being under the charge of a governor. Normally, this governor was a prince.

27. There was a cabinet for the help and assistances of the governors

28. The Local administration during Mauryan period was divided between two categories :—

(*a*) City administration ; and
(*b*) Village administration.

29. City administration was carried out by the Nagrik or the City Administrator. He had other officers under him for his assistance.

30. There were certain rules and regulations for efficient city administration. Citizens were expected to follow them. These rules and regulations covered all the aspects of the life of the town, namely, prevention of fire, sanitation, law and order, lost and found property, etc.

31. The village administration was under the charge of the village administration who was called Gramik. He was also helped by a committee of aldermen.

32. There were village courts as well.

33. Vilages were grouped into different administrative units.

34. Apart from these official administrative units, there were unofficial administrative units as well. They were the organisations of the artisans as well as businessmen. The ministers who were appointed to look after the work of these classes of people, were only those who enjoyed the confidence of the people belonging to these classes.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GUPTA ADMINISTRATION

Q. Describe the administrative system of the Gupta empire, indicating its merits and demerits. *Or*

Q. "The shape which the Hindu administrative system assumed under the Guptas never left it afterwards. From the administrative point of view, the Gupta empire stands at the centre of the ancient Indian history." Illustrate.

Ans. Gupta administration—After Mauryan empire. India did not see a strong imperial power. It was the Guptas who established such a power in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. Chandra Gupta I was responsible for the establishment of such an imperial power. Later on Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II reinforced it and also expanded it.

Sources of information about Gupta empire—Sources of information about Gupta empire are various. Following are the important sources :—

(*a*) Inscriptions, coins.

(*b*) Dramas of Kalidas and other Sanskrit dramas, such as Mudra Rakshas.

(*c*) Narration of the Chinese traveller Faiehan.

Administrative set-up or provincial administration—Like Mauryan empire, Gupta empire, in the interest of the administrative efficiency, was split up into different regions. These regions were of different variety. Given below is a brief description of the different types of administrative units :—

(*a*) **Regions ruled by the king or emperor**—These were divided into smaller units and subjects.

(*b*) **Rulers or Samantas of the Madhya Pradesh or Aryavrata**—They were like the lieutenant governors under the emperor.

(*c*) **States under the Gupta Dynasty**—Republics and democratic states that accepted the suzerainty of the Gupta dynasty.

(*d*) **Border states** that accepted the hegemony of Gupta empire, paid tributes and sent presents to them.

(*e*) **Friend states**—These were such states which were anxious to make friend with the Gupta empire. In other words, they accepted the hegemony of the Gupta empire.

Different administrative units of the Gupta empire—During Gupta period, the administration was carried out in a four-tier system. These were the following :—

(*a*) Central administration.

(*b*) Provincial administration.

(*c*) District administration.

(*d*) Village administration.

Central administration—The central administration was carried out in the name of the king. He was the sovereign and considered to be the representative of the God. He was all powerful, yet he could not act against the interests of the people. He was expected to possess certain qualities. These qualities were, normally, the qualities that were helpful for the welfare of the state.

Functions of the king—The king was expected to carry out the following functions :—

(*a*) Administrative functions.
(*b*) Military functions.
(*c*) Judicial functions.

All these things indicate that the king during Gupta period was the supreme commander of the army, the highest executive officer and the highest seat of judiciary.

Regent queen—During Gupta period the queen was not given a free hand in the administration, yet she occupied a place of respect. In the coins of the Gupta period, there is mention of the name of the queen.

Council of Ministers—In order to assist, advise and help the king in the administration, there was a council of ministers. The king in council, formed the Raj Sabha. The decisions of this body were final and carried out by all.

Qualifications of the Ministers—The ministers were expected to possess certain qualifications. They were supposed to be honest, of good character, learned men, just, truthful, impartial and loyal to the throne.

Departments of the Central Government—We have already seen that the central administration during Gupta period was carried out by a council of ministers, each minister having a department under him. The whole of the administration was divided into the following departments :—

(*a*) **Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs**—Purohit was the head of this department. It is presumed that the education was under this officer. He was supposed to carry out the religious activities and maintain the religious values.

(*b*) **Department of External and Foreign Affairs**—The head of this department was called Mahasandhivigrahak He was responsible to the king to lay down the foreign polity of the state. In those days Gupta empire had relations with different foreign countries and so this officer occupied a very important place. All the ambassadors worked under him. He was also responsible for suggesting to the king when attacks should be made and when not.

(*c*) **Police Department**—This department was responsible for maintaining law and order. There was also a secret branch or intelligence branch of this department.

(*d*) **Revenue Department**—This department had, as its head, the officer called Dhruvadhikaran, He had under him different types of officers/official that were responsible for the collection of revenue as well as layinig down principles for the collection of the revenue.

(*e*) **Industries and Art Department**—'Dangik' was the head of this department. He was responsible for controlling and guiding the trade and business activities.

(*f*) **Palace Department**—The entire royal staff and the affairs concerning the royal palace were under this department. It was a very important department.

(*g*) **Military Department**—Guptas also maintained a huge army. There were different officers of the army responsible for different activities. Mahabaladhikrat was, probably, the commander-in-chief of the army.

Heir-Apparent or the Successor—The heir-apparent or the successor enjoyed high offices in the administration. It was done in order to train him for future responsibilities.

Other Officers of the Central Administration—Apart from the high officers enumerated above, there were other administrative officers of the central administration. These officers carried out different activities assigned to them.

Sarvadhyaksha or the Chief Officer of the Central Administrative Office—He looked after the affairs of the central administrative department. Normally, some prince or a person belonging to some very high family was appointed to this office. He also conduct inspection of different departments.

Chief Record Officer—He was called Mahakshpatlik.

Treasury Officer—There was the chief treasury officer. There is mention of this officer on the seals of Vaisali. He was called Bhandaradhikrat.

Chief Revenue Officer or Dhruvadhikaran—He was responsible for realising the land revenue.

Book-Keeper or Pustapal—He assisted the Chief Record Officer in maintaining the records.

Gopa or Village Officer—He was responsible for keeping record about the income and expenditure and other information about the villages.

Karanik or Registrar—He brought about the registration of different documents.

Agraharik or Danadhyaksha—He looked after the activities concerning the aims given by the king or the state.

Divir—He was like a modern clerk.

Gaulmik or Forest Officer—He was responsible and looked after the forest wealth of the empire.

Shalkik or Tax Collector—He realized the taxes levied on the people by the state.

Different Seals of Different Departments—There were different seals of different departments during Gupta period. It was done in order to have a distinct idea of different administrative units.

Salaries of the Employees—Employees during Gupta period were paid in cash as well as in coins. It means that they received nominal as well as real wages. They were given landed properly as well as salary in cash.

Provision was also made for the families of the deceased employees.

In short, it may be said that the central administration during Gupta period was well defined and carried out in a scientific manner.

Judicial administration—Even today we hear a lot of stores about the judicial acumen of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya. In fact, Vikramaditya, who was no one other than Chandra Gupta II, was considered to be an incarnation of justice. Description of his judicial system is available from the narration of Fieahan.

Different courts of judicature—In the Gupta period, there were the following four kinds of courts :—

(*a*) Courts of the Emperor.

(*b*) Pug.

(c) Sreni.

(d) Kul courts.

On the one hand, these courts were autonomous in the discharge of their duties, but appeals could be heard against them in higher courts. King was the highest appellate authority.

In those days, there were courts functioning at the village panchayat level as well. These courts administered justice to the local area. They were called Dharmandhikaran, Nyayadhikaran, Dharma Shashadhikaran, etc.

The chief justice resided in the capital. Provincial and judicial courts acted under him.

Conduct of the judge—Judges even during Gupta period were expected to be above board. They were supposed to carry out the administration in an impartial and truthful manner. Those judges, who were found guilty of misconduct, were penalized.

Different designations of different types of judges—Different types of judges enjoyed different types of designations. These designations were given in accordance with the status of these judges and the functions that they discharged.

Duties of the Chief Justice—Manu has called Chief Justice as Dharmasan. It implies that once a person occupies the seat of the Chief Justice. he should administer justice in a very impartial and honest manner. The Chief Justice was expected to keep an eye on the points both for and against. Manu has also categorized the evidence between two :—

(a) The evidence provided by a man ; and

(b) The evidence provided by Providence or extra human agencies.

A judge in the Gupta period was expected to take into account all the types of evidence.

Punishment during Gupta period—Fieahan has said that the punishment during Gupta period was quite lenient. Corporal punishment and death penalty was not to be found. It means that people in those days were not very dishonest and there were plenty of resources.

Ideal administration of justice—In Gupta period we find that there was an ideal administration of justice. The courts functioned in a human manner. Punishment awarded was also human. In this regard, the administration of justice of the Gupta period was quite contrary to the administration of justice during Mauryan period. The laws were simple and the administration of those laws was also simple. Corporal punishment and death penaly were not to be found or seen. People were happy and prosperous. They were honest and possessed high character. Therefore, there was no need to enter into agreement. People honoured their commitment even to the point of their death.

Punishment differed according to status, the physical condition and the circumstances of the accused. It does not mean that corporal punishment was not awarded. If a person persisted in a delinquent behaviour, the punishment awarded became serious

Military administration—We have already seen that Guptas were an imperial power. It was, therefere, quite natural for them to attach a good deal of importance to military administration. In those days, there was always danger of external aggression. Pushyamitras always had an eye on India and they never missed an opportunity to commit aggression against India. They were plunderers. Such an aggression had taken place during Gupta period.

Similarly, Hoons also bore animosity against India and they never missed an opportunity to attack this country. Firstly, they attacked in 455 A. D. at the time of Kumar Gupta and then at the time of 457 A. D. Skanda Gupta had mauled them badly. Similarly, Chandra Gupta assumed the title of Vikramaditya only after administering a crushing blow to the Hoons. All this could be possible only with the help of a strong and scientifically organized army.

Different departments of the army—During Gupta period, army was nicely and scientifically organised. There was a department charged with the special responsibility of maintaining the army. King was the commander-in-chief of the army. Other than the king, the heir-apparent or the prince reject looked after the army. Following officers helped the army administration :—

1. **Commanding Officer or Maha Senapati**—He was the highest army officer. Such officers were appointed for different areas of the empire.

2. **Mahadandanayak or the Chief of the Army Staff**—This officer acted under the Maha Senapati or the Commanding Officer. He took charge of the army on the battlefield. Under him, there were Maha Ashvapati, Ashvapati, Mahapilupali, Pilupali. These persons conducted different units of cavalry as well as elephant army.

3. **Mahabaladhikrat**—This officer was responsible for contending the organisation and the maintenance of the army. He had several other officers under him. It was this officer who made all appointments of the soldiers and other personnel of the army.

4. **Rana Raudarik or Chief Ordinance Officer**—He was charged with the responsibility of collecting the war material.

Sub-sections of the minor departments of the army—Normally, army during Gupta period was divided into the following three units :—

(*a*) Infantry.
(*b*) Cavalry.
(*c*) Elephant riding army.

The soldiers of the infantry were called Chat and an infantry unit was designated as Chamu. The commanding officer of the Chamu was called Chamup.

The head of the cavalry was called Bhatashavapati. Then there were other officers incharge of different units of the cavalry.

The head of the elephant army was called Katak. Then there were other officers responsible for different units of the elephant army.

Different types of arms—In Gupta period, the armoury had developed to a very great extent. In the inscriptions of that period, we find description of different varieties of arms. These included bow, arrow, lance, etc.

Medical unit of the army—Wounded soldiers and officers were provided first aid on the battlefield and then proper treatment at the best hospital of the army. There was the ambulance corps attached to every army unit. It was done in order to facilitate the medical treatment of the soldiers on the battlefield.

Provincial administration—Gupta empire had very for off limits. It was, therefore, impossible for any central administration to work efficiently. In the interest of administration efficiency, the whole of the empire was divided into certain regions or provinces. These provinces like the provinces of the Mauryan period, were situated in different parts of the country.

Head of the provincial administration—Every province was governed by a particular officer called 'Uprik' or 'Uprik Maharaj'. He enjoyed the status equivalent to a governor of the present day. He was appointed by the emperor or the king. Normally, princes were appointed to this post. These provincial governors were called Bhogik, Bhogpati, Bhogta, etc. Bhukti was normally, a province or a province with a status lower than that of a province.

Functions of the rulers of 'Bhukti' or functions of the Governors—Normally, the governor was responsible for the administration of the province or the state. He discharged the following functions :—

1. Maintain law and order in the province.
2. Realize the taxes and the revenues.
3. Looked after the dams, canals, roads, etc.
4. He discharged such other functions also that would bring about the prosperity of the province.

Different departments of the provincial administration :—

Provincial administration was also divided into different departments. This division was very much similar to the division of the central administration.

Provincial cabinet—There was a council of ministers who advised, assisted and helped the governor of the province in the administration of the state. It consisted of the chief of the army staff, the chief police officer and such other officers who are helpful for the administration of the province.

District administration or administration of 'Vishai—In the Gupta period, the province was divided into different Vishais These Vishais were like the districts of the present day. Normally, a province or Bhukti consisted of two to three districts or vishais. For example, Magadha had two districts or vishais, namely, Gaya and Pataliputra. Pundra Vardhan had three vishais or districts.

Head of the district administration or head of the 'Vishai' administration—Normally, the head of the district administration was called Vishaipati. He was like the District Magistrate of the present day. His appointment was made by the head of the provincial administration or the governor or Prantapal. He carried out all the jobs that were done by the governor in regard to the provincial administration.

Cabinet of the 'Vishajpati'—In order to advise, assist and help Vishaipati in the administration of a district or vishai, there was a cabinet or council of ministers. Normally, it had four important members. They were heads of different committees under them. Each member of the cabinet had a committee under him.

Normally, the cabinet consisted of 30 members. These members were called Vishai Mahattar or members of the district council. People had a lot of say in the administration of the district.

Employees under the district head—Normally, every head of the district had the following officials under him :—

(*a*) Yukta.
(*b*) Niyukta.
(*c*) Ayukta.
(*d*) Adhikrat.
(*e*) Dandapashik.
(*f*) Chorodharinak.
(*g*) Arakshadhikrat.
(*h*) Danda Nayak,

All these officers were appointed for a period of five years.

The head of the district was responsible for different types of functions.

City administration—Every 'vishai' or district consisted of several cities. The head of the city administration was called Purpal or city administrator. Normally, he also belonged to the royal family. Purpals were appointed for big cities.

City council—Every city had a council. It was like the municipal council of the present day. The entire administration of the city vested in this particular council.

'Purpal' was also called *'Drangik'*. He was appointed by the Vishaipati or the head of the district administration. Sometimes the head of the district administration appointed his son as the administrator of the city. There was definite arrangement for the security of the town and other aspects of the administration.

Village administration—Village was the smallest unit of administration. There was a headman or Mukhiya who carried the administration of the village. The head of the village was called Grameyak or Mahattar. There was a Panchayat to assist him in the administration of the village This council or the Panchayat was known as Pancha Mandali or Janpad. There is a reference to the effect that the commander-in-chief of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya donated 25 dinars to the Panchayat mandali of a village. These Panchayats or panch councils were known as Panch Mandali of Janapad. These panchayats were quite independent in their working.

Village Panchayats—In the Gupta period, the village panchayats were in a very developed stage. Normally, Panchayats consisted of the following members :—

(*a*) Mahattar.

(*b*) Ashtakuladhikari,

(*c*) Gramik.

(*d*) Kutumbin.

Normally, these members were quite matured persons with a good deal of experience and high character.

Functions of the Gram Panchayats—Gram panchayats discharged the following functions :—

1. Realization of the taxes.
2. Administration of law and order.
3. Protecting the interests of the minors.
4. Looking after the security of the village and the upkeep of the ditches built for the security of the village.
5. Decision of the disputes.

Panchayats as democracies in miniature—These Panchayats were democracies in miniature. In them vested the entire authority of the period. The administration of the panchayats was carried out by different sub-committees. Each committee was responsible for one aspect of the life of the village administration, such as agriculture, irrigation, maintenance of the places of worship.

Sources of income—During Gupta period, the state earned its income through the following sources :—

1. Taxes—Tax was levied on agriculture land as well as the produce. Normally, 18 to 25 per cent of the agricultural produce was deposited in the state treasury. It was also called Upari.

2. **Bhog Kar or Octroi Duty**—Octrio duty was also levied on different commodities. Things that came from outside were subjected to certain taxes. From the inscriptions, it is clear that these taxes were of 18 types.

3. **Military tax**—If military had to be sent to a particular place, the entire cost for the maintenance of the military was borne by the people of that locality.

4. **Fines**—During Gupta period, fine was imposed on people. This fine was imposed for some default committed by these people. They formed an important source of income of the state.

5. **Income from state property**—During Gupta period, forests, mines, etc. were owned by the state. There was some income from the mineral wealth as this forest wealth. All this was deposited in the state treasury. Historians are of the view that the major source of revenue of the state during Gupta period was the state property of the state wealth. People in those days were not subjected to heavy taxation. Narration of Fieahan also corroborates this view. He has held out this view that in those days people were quite happy and prosperous, because they had not to pay heavy taxes.

CONCLUSIONS

1. After Mauryan empire, India was a full-fledged empire only at the hands of the Gupta dynasty. It was Chandra Gupta I who established this empire.

2. We get information about the Gupta empire from the following sources :—
   (*a*) Inscriptions, coins etc.
   (*b*) Dramas of Kalidas and other books of Sanskrit literature.
   (*c*) Narration of Chinese traveller Fieahan.

3. During Gupta period, there was a strong centre, but the administration was divided into different regions.

4. The empire was divided into the following administrative regions :—
   (*a*) Regions ruled directly by the emperor.
   (*b*) Regions ruled by Samantas.
   (*c*) Republics that accepted the suzerainty of Gupta dynasty.
   (*d*) Border states.
   (*e*) Friend states.

5. The administrative set-up during Gupta period was divided into the following stages :—
   (*a*) Central administration.
   (*b*) Provincial administration.
   (*c*) District administration.
   (*d*) Village administration.

6. Central administration was carried out by the king with the help of council of ministers.

7. The central government had different departments, namely :—
   (*a*) Department of ecclesiastical.
   (*b*) Department of external and foreign affairs.
   (*c*) Police department.
   (*d*) Revenue department.
   (*e*) Industries and art department.

(*f*) Palace department.

(*g*) Military department etc,

8. There were different officers incharge for different departments of the central government

9. There were different seals as well for different departments.

10. The salaries to the employees were paid in form of land. They also received salaries in cash.

11. During Gupta period there was very well organised judicial system There were different types of courts at different levels. There were criminal as civil courts.

12. Judges were supposed to be beyond approach and above board.

13. Punishment was awarded according to the seriousness of the crime. Normally, death penalty or corporal punishment was not awarded.

14. During Gupta period, there was a strong army that consisted of different units comprising of :—

(*a*) Infantry.
(*b*) Cavalry.
(*c*) Elephant riding army etc.

15. The king was the supreme commander, but there was a commandinn officer or Maha Senapati to control the army and to keep it in discipline.

16. There were different administrative units of army under different officers.

17. There was also a medical unit attached to the army.

18. The empire was divided into different provinces for the convenience of the administrator.

19. Uparik or Uparik Maharaj was the head of the provincial administration.

20. These provinces were called Bhukti.

21. There was a cabinet attached to every head of the provincial administration.

22. Provinces were divided into different districts ; each district was called Vishai.

23. Every Vishaipati or the head of the district administration had a cabinet or a council of ministers, who advised him or helped him in the administration.

24. The head of the district administration had different departments and types of the administration.

25. City administration was slightly different from the district administration. The head of the city administration was called Purpal. There was also a council of ministers for the administration of the city.

26. Village administration was the smallest administrative unit.

27. There were panchayats that carried out the administration of the small units.

28. These panchayats were democracy in miniature.

29. The states acquired income from the following sources :—

(*a*) Taxes.
(*b*) Fines.
(*c*) Other levies and rates etc.

30. In short, it may be said that the administration during Gupta period was very well organised on scientific lines.

CHAPTER XIX

ADMINISTRATION OF HARSHA

Q. Examine critically the political, social and religious conditions of India in the age of Harsha ?

Or

Q. Give a brief description of the administration during the period of Harsha ?

Ans Administration of Harsha—Harsha is famous not only for the efficiency of administration but also for the generosity in life as well as in administrative affairs. He was a king of the first order. Essentially; he was not an ambitious emperor. He was a person who wanted to consolidate what he had earned. He, therefore, attached a system of administration of the Gupta period; no doubt, he made certain changes.

System of administration—During Harsha's period also, the administration was divided under the following categories :—

1. Central administration or central government.
2. Provincial administration or provincial government.
3. Administration of the districts and the villages.

Central Administration—Even during Harsha's period, the king was the sovereign. He carried out the entire administration with the help of the council of ministers. In fact, the central administration consisted of the following units :—

(*a*) The king or the emperor.
(*b*) The council of ministers or the cabinet.
(*c*) The judicial administration.
(*d*) The military administration.
(*e*) The income and expenditure etc.

Even in the times of Harsha, the king was considered to be the representative of God. In other words, divine origin theory had its sway. Bana, the famous Sanskrit literature, had described Harsha as an incarnation of the combination of different gods.

In those days, the king assumed several titles. Harsha himself was addressed by the titles Param Devta, Parmeshwar, Param Bhattarak, Maharaja Dhiraj etc.

In the times of Harsha, the brothers could succeed the king.

The functions of the emperor were very vast. He was expected to take an active part in the administration of the state. In fact, the entire administration was carried out in his name.

In those days, there was no provision for the women to sit on the throne. But Harsha tried to enthrone his sister, Jai Shree. She had become a widow and Harsha tried to rehabilitate her with the best of his ability.

Duties of the king or the emperor—The king during the time of Harsha was expected to carry out the following functions :—

To tour the kingdom—The king during the time of Harsha was expected to acquire firsthand knowledge about the economic, social and political condition of the people. He was, therefore, expected to tour different parts of his kingdom. It has also been provided for that leaving aside the four months of the rainy season, the king should move about for the whole of the year in different parts of the country. This was done in order to facilitate the public to put forward its grievances before the king personally. It was not possible for all of them to go up to the capital.

Daily routine of the king—Like the Mauryan kings, the daily routine of the king during Harsha period included the job of looking after the welfare of the people. The whole of the day was divided into three parts and one-third of the day was to be spent in the administrative jobs Harsha himself preferred to pass the two-thirds of the day in religious activities.

In short, it may be said that most of the time of the king was spent in public welfare of the people.

Council of Ministers—The king had a council of ministers. This council was to advise, help and assist the king himself. There is a description of the functioning of the council of ministers in the contemporary political as well as other literature.

Council of Ministers consisted of the following :—

- (*a*) Sandhivigrah or the minister for External Affairs.
- (*b*) Akshapatladhikrat.
- (*c*) Senapati or the Commander-in-Chief.

Procedure or working of the council of ministers—The description about the working of the council of ministers during Harsha period available from the inscriptions. Hueintsang has given a description of the council of ministers of Maukariyas. This very clearly indicates that the council of ministers during Harsha's period functioned according to the working of the Mankhariyas.

Thd Prime Minister occupied an important place in the council of ministers. Even the king consulted him on important matters.

Other high officers—Apart from the minister for external affairs, commander-in-chief, etc. there were other high officers as well. These included the officers responsible for the maintenance of the police, the security of the king and other affairs of the kingdom.

Below the rank of the ministers, there were other high officers. These were like the commissioners and the districts magistrates of the present day. They discharged the functions assigned to them and received salary in form of the landed property. In other words, they received real wages not nominal wages.

Military administration—Harsha had also established a vast empire. It was, therefore, natural for him to keep a strong and efficient army. He had a strong army, with the help of which he could conquer several states like Kashmir, Punjab, etc. It is said that Harsha continued to carry on Dikvijai or the conquest in different directions for full period of five years.

Organs of the army—Army of Harsha consisted of the following units :—

- (*a*) Infantry.
- (*b*) Cavalry or the horse-riding soldiers.
- (*c*) Elephant riding soldiers.
- (*d*) Camel riding soldiers.

Commander-in-Chief of the army—King was the supreme commander of the Army, but the actual control of the army vested in Maha Senapati or the

Commander-in-Chief. Under him there were several commanders. There was a commander for each wing of the army. The infantry was controlled by Mahabaladhikrat or Baladhikrat. Cavalry was controlled by Vrahada Ashwavar.

Names for different units of the army—Names of the different units of the army were the same that were in vogue during Gupta period.

Subsidiary units of the army—There were subsidiary units of the army as well. These units were responsible for the fighting capacity and efficiency of the army. They provided ration, war material and other things for the soldiers.

Capacity of Harsha's army—It is said that originally, there were fifty thousand infantry men, twenty thousand cavalry men and five thousand elephant soldiers that formed the army of Harsha, with the help of whom he conquered several states. It is also said that, later on, this number swelled immensely. According to Hueintsang, there were innumerable cavalry soldiers in Harsha's army. There were one hundred thousand cavalry men and sixty thousand elephants. If we compare the army of Harsha with that of Mauryan period, we find that Harsha had a huge army, much larger than that of the Mauryan period.

It is also said that Harsha put up several forts and saved different parts of the country.

Judicial administration of Harsha Period—During Harsha's rule, administration of justice was carried out in an efficient manner. In contrast to the Gupta period, the punishment awarded was very strict, yet crimes were not unknown. Even the foreign travellers were surrounded by dacoits. There was provision for externment and exile. People also had to undergo life imprisonment for serious types of crimes.

Tests for ascertaining crimes—In those days, there were different tests to ascertain whether the particular person was criminal or not. These tests were of the following four types :—

(*a*) **By water**—In this test, the accused was tied in a sack and in other sack stone weight was put. Both the sacks were floated in the river. If the sack containing the accused got drowned and the sack containing the stone weight continued to float, it was considered that the person was the real culprit and vice-versa.

(*b*) **By fire**—In order to ascertain whether a person was a real culprit or not, he was made to sit on a red iron sheet. It was also not unknown to ask an accused to lick a red and not iron. If the accused was burnt, he was considered to be the real accused and accordingly punished.

(*c*) **Test by scale**—In this test, the culprit was weighed against stone. If the stone proved to be lighter, then the person was considered to be innocent and vice-versa.

(*d*) **Test by poison**—In this test, the person was made to undergo the test of the poison. If he was saved, he was considered innocent and if he died, he was considered to be the real culprit.

According to Hueintsang, in those days, the punishment was very severe. Due to this, people lived together happily, yet there was the danger of robbery and theft.

Sources of income—During the period of Harsha, following were the main sources of the income of the state :—

(*a*) Taxes.

(*b*) Income from mineral wealth as well as forest wealth.

(*c*) Income from the sales of the goods or sales tax and the organisation of markets.

(*d*) Income from ferry or the taxes collected for use of ghats.

(*e*) Money received by way of fines from the culprits.

(*f*) One-sixth of the total produce of the land as well as other industrial goods went to the state coffers.

Taxation during Harsha's period was quite heavy. It can be judged from the following lines :—

> "But when one considers how Harsha was for a long time engaged in warfare and was maintaining a huge army, one is inclined to doubt the literal truth of the above statement."[51]

The statement in reference is the statement of Hueintsang, who has said that during Harsha's period, taxation was not very heavy. People led a peaceful and happy life.

Provincial administration—During the time of Harsha, the whole of the empire was divided into certain regions. The biggest such region was called Province. The administration of the province was the same as during the Gupta period. These provinces were called Bhukti or Desh. During the time of Harsha, there were five provinces or Bhuktis as given under :—

(*a*) Kaushambhi.

(*b*) Pundravardhan.

(*c*) Ahichhatra.

(*d*) Shravasti, etc.

It is not definite what was the exact number of the provinces or Bhuktis. They were there, no duubt, as is evident from Harsha Charitra.

The head of the Provincial Administration—The head of the provincial administration was the governor, who was normally called Uparik Maharaja. Normally, they were the princes. There were other officials as well. There is mention of (*a*) Rajasthani and (*b*) Rashtriya as officers.

The provincial states were under the administration of Guptas. These were like military governor. There was an office of the provincial administration. It was known as Uparikadhikaran. In this office almost all the record about the provincial administration was maintained. There were other officers, also, namely, the police commissioner, the head of the jails department etc. All these persons looked after the provincial administration.

Administration of the district—Each province was divided into different vishais or districts. The head of the administration of the district was called Vishaipati. He was like the district magistrate of the present day. Normally, he was appointed by the head of the provincial administration. Sometimes, the emperor himself appointed the head of the district administration directly.

Head of the district administration and his cabinet—We have talked about the head of the distrtct administration. He was called Vishaipati. There was a cabinet to advise and assist him in the administrative jobs. This cabinet or the council of advisers consisted of four members. Each member had a council under him. Normally, each member of this council was the head of the class to which he belonged.

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[51] A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India.'

Other officials of the district administration—Normally, every district had several officers/officials to look after different aspects of administration. From the inscriptions, it is gathered that in those days following were the important officers of the district administration :—

(*a*) **Negarsreshthi or the head of the capitalists of the town**—Normally, he was the most important member of this class.

(*b*) **Sarthvah**—He was head of the trade and commerce committee and the district administration. Generally, the President or the head of the association of the traders occupied this position.

(*c*) **Pratham Kulik or the head of the bankers' Council**—He occupied the post of the chairman, council of bankers. It means that he was responsible for the banking business of the district.

(*d*) **Pratham Kayastha or the first Kayastha**—He was responsible for the records of the district administration. Normally, he was the head of the council of records.

In Harsha Charitra, there is a mention of another officer Called Purtakrat. It is presumed that he was the same officer as the Pustapala of the Gupta period. He was responsible for the book keeping and the records of the entire administration of the district.

Office—There was a head office of the entire district administrasion. There was a group of the record keepers that maintained this office. Normally, there were different record offices, but the most important one was established at the head-quarters office of the district administration.

Village administration—Village, almost in all times of the history of India, has been the smallest unit of the administration. It is so even in the modern time. The district administration during the period of Harsha was also carried out in a democratic manner.

Head of the village administration—Normally, there was a head of the village administration. He was called Gramadhyaksha. There were several other officers to assist him in this job. They were called Kaniks. There were also Mahattars. They were like the Panchas of the modern times. Normally, they were the alderman of the village who played an important role in the dministration of the village.

Other officers of the village administration—There were other sets of officers bout village administration, namely—

(*a*) Ashcakuladhikaran.

(*b*) Gramik.

Ashtakuladhikaran was the head of the eight families or kulas of the village.

Gremik was the head of the village.

The officers were either elected by the people or appointed by the state dministration. There is no definite knowledge about the appointment and the working of these officers.

Akshapatlik—There is mention of another officer in reference to village dministration, who was designated as Akshapatlik. He was appointed by the ate government and he kept record of the important subjects of the village dministration. He can be compared with the Patel or Patwari or Lekhpal of he modern times.

In short, it may be said that village administration during the period of arsha was carried out in an efficient and effective manner.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Harsha was also an emperor. Essentially, he did not believe in expansions of the empire, yet he established an empire which expanded far and wide.

2. Harsha more or less maintained the administrative set-up of the Gupta times. He changed it only in the interest of efficiency.

3. Administration during the time of Harsha was divided into the following heads :—

(*a*) The central administration.
(*b*) The provincial administration.
(*c*) The district administration.
(*d*) The village administration.

4. King was the sovereign and the entire administration was carried out in his name. He was expected to regulate his life in a manner that he may tour different parts of the country and acquired first hand knowledge about the economic and social condition of the subjects.

5. The king was also expected to lead a life in such a manner that he could devote a good deal of time to the administration.

6. There was a council of ministers to help and assist the king in discharge of his duties.

7. During the time of Harsha, there was a strong army. It was this army that helped Harsha to establish such a strong empire.

8. Although the king was supreme commander of the armed forces, yet the control of the army was in the hands of different officers.

9. Army of Harsha consisted of—

(*a*) Infantry.
(*b*) Cavalry.
(*c*) Elephant riding soldiers.
(*d*) Camel riding soldiers.

10. The judicial administration during the period of Harsha was als carried out in a very scientific manner. There were different types of courts an different ways of testing the innocence of the culprits or the accused.

11. Severe punishment was awarded, yet it cannot be said that in thos days no crimes were committed.

12. The whole of the empire was divided into different administrativ units called provinces. They were called Bhuktis.

13. Normally, the governor, who was called Uparik Maharaj, was th head of the provincial administration. Generally princes were appointed t this post.

14. Provinces were divided into different districts and, therefore calle Vishais.

15. There was a head of the district administration, who was generall appointed by the head of the provincial administration. Sometimes, the empero himself appointed this officer directly.

16. There was a council to advise and help the head of the distric administration in the work of the administration.

17. Village was the smallest unit of administration.

18. There was a council of the elders to advise and help the villag headman to carry out the administration efficiently.

19. There were different officers to assist the village headman as well as the head of the district administration.

20. It may be stated, in short, that the administration during the period of Harsha was carried out in a very efficient manner, which, in many respects, resembles administrative set-up of the present day.

CHAPTER XXX

MANU—THE FATHER OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Q. Describe briefly the importance of Manu and his views in regard to the science of polity. *Or*

Q. Manu has been called the father of the Indian polity. Discuss this statement.

Ans. Manu and Manu Smriti—Smritis formed an important part of the knowledge of ancient India. Of these smritis, Manu Smriti is considered to be very dependable and important. This smriti or Manu smriti is a comprehensive treatise on the conduct of Hindu society and Hindu ways of life. It has been given different names, such as Manu Smriti, Manu Samhita, Manu Dharma Shastra etc. After Vedas, it has been given the most important place about the Hindu way of life. It is also said that this book reflects the Hindu structure of the society. Some writers have also said that the society in ancient India was organised according to Manu Smriti. Along with Manu Smriti, Mahabharat and works of Yajavalakya occupy an important place. This is what is said in the following lines :—

> "In the historical development of our ancient civilization, the two great works on Brahmanical sacred law (namely the Smritis of Manu and Yajavalakya) as well as the Mahabharat (the great epic) forming the subject-matter of the present, occupy a position of exceptional significance.[52]

Time of Manu Smriti—Most of the authors have held out the view that this work was actually written between 200 B. C. to 300 B. C. Brahmanic society or Hindu society developed according to the laws of Manu Smriti.

Manu Smriti and its subject matter—This smriti contains 12 chapters in which the author has made an attempt to bring about a co-ordinated growth of society, religion and polity or political science. He has laid down different rules in this regard.

Every chapter of Manu Smriti is very important from the point of view of polity. The first chapter deals with the description of the origin of the society and different forms and sanskars. The second chapter gives the description of the four varnas ; certain rules and regulations about religion, good conduct etc. The Fourth chapter deals with the daily routine of the people ; the fifth chapter deals with different activities of the women and the sixth one contains rules and regulations about the life led during the period of Vanaprastha and Sanyas,

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[52] U. N. Ghoshal—'History of Indian Political Ideas'.

Significance of Manu Smriti as a work of polity—It is chapters VII and VIII that occupy an important place in the Hindu science of polity. In VII chapter we find description about the following :—

(*a*) Raj Dharma or the duty of the state.
(*b*) Need of the king.
(*c*) Rules and regulations of the government and the duties of the king.
(*d*) The council of ministers.
(*e*) Organisation of the army etc.

The VIII chapter deals with the following :—

(*a*) The organisation of the judiciary.
(*b*) The working of the law courts etc.

In this chapter we find the description about the collection of the evidence, witnesses, punishment, penalty for tendering wrong evidence, various types of crimes etc.

Chapters IX, X and XI deal with different Varnas, their duties and other details about them. Chapter XII gives a description of the rites that are performed after death.

Manu smriti and the thoughts of Manu influenced the contemporary politics to a very great extent We all know that according to ancient Indian literature, the Indian society was divided in four varnas, namely, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. The division of the society into these four Varnas was actually intended to bring about a balanced development of the society. This attempt was actually made by Manu. He has laid down that it is the duty of the Kshatriyas to govern, while it is the duty of the Brahmans to advise. Manu has given religion or duty the highest place in the society.

The primitive state of anarchy—Manu has described the state of anarchy. He has called it the natural state. At that time, there was no king. This state compares well with the state of anarchy described by the exponent of the social contract theory, namely, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

The origin of the king—According to Manu, the institution of kingship came into being in this country as a result of the creation of the god. In other words, he believes in the theory of divine origin. He says that God created the king in order to relieve the people of the state of anarchy. According to Manu, in the original state, there was anarchy all around. People were not happy and so God created the king in order to relieve people of that deplorable state[53].

According to Manu, natural state was based on the principle of "might is right".

Sovereignty of the king—According to Manu, king was the sovereign authority. He was vested with all powers. Manu has said that the fire burns only those, who try to crush, but the king has the power to crush even those, along with their families who try to act against the established law of the land.

In fact, king had no divine halo around him till the Vedic period. He came to be recognized as a representative of God only after the Vedic period. It is the institution of kingship that has been recognized as the representative of God or having divine qualities in it. The king as an individual has not been vested with the divine qualities.

Manu has laid down that the king is the supreme authority and the sovereign as well. He has also laid down the qualities and qualifications of the king. According to Manu, the king was expected to act according to the requirements of the time, place and other aspects of the society. Manu has constantly drawn the attention of the king towards different requirements of a good administration. According to him, the king symbolized Punishment or Force.

According to Manu, the king was expected to provide facilities and conveniences to good people and punish all those persons that tried to disturb the society. Those persons who tried to disturb the integrity of the society faced punishment at the hands of the king.

Origin of the state—Like king, according to Manu, the state came into being as a result of creation of God. In other words, he believed in divine origin of the state. According to him, all the aspects of the Society have been borne as a result of the creation of the Almighty. He has compared God to a very huge personality having different organs.

According to Manu, there are seven organs of the state, namely, (1) the king ; (2) the minister or Amatya ; (3) friend or suharda ; (4) city (5) state or rashtra ; (6) treasury or kosha ; (7) force or punishment or dand. All these organs are interlinked or inter dependent. They influence each other. According to Manu, those organs also have a divine origin.

According to Manu, God took out different elements from India, Vayu, Yama, Surya, Agni, Varun, Chandra, Kuber, etc., and collected them at one place and that was the king. According to him, the king was supposed to be extra-pious. He was to shine like the sun, help the people of the earth as the air or the water does. He was also expected to possess the strength and powers of Indra, the king of the gods[54].

In other words, Manu has laid down that the king should perform the duties that make him respectable and worth respecting for all. He has laid down that the king should act as a friend and a philosopher of his subjects. He has further stated that the king should try to destroy all such persons who cause harm to the society.

Qualities or requirements of the king—Manu has given a detailed description of the qualities or qualifications of the king. He has said that the king should possess the following qualities :—

(*a*) He should have control over his sense organs.

(*d*) He should be modest and courteous.

(*c*) He should be free from evil habits, specially the anger, which is said to be the root cause of all the evil habits.

He has said that the king should try to be true to the four requirements of the life, namely, dharma, artha, kama and moksha. While allowing the

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53. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥

54. इन्द्राऽनिलयमार्कणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥
तपस्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्षूंषि मनांसि च ।
न चैनं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

king to observe kama, Manu has warned him against too much getting himself indulged in it.

King should be alive to the welfare of the people. Manu has very strongly pleaded for the welfare of the people. He has said that the king should never neglect the welfare of the people. He has stated that the king could occupy his seat only so long as he was truthful to his people or tried to discharge the duties that brought about the welfare of his subjects.

Ideal character—Manu has said that the king should possess an ideal character. He should be competent, capable, learned and able to discharge efficiently different duties connected with his office. In short, we may say that according to Manu, nothing was expected to possess all the qualities that are required of an ideal personality.

Force or punishment—Manu has laid down that the king must know about two things, namely (*a*) Dharma or duty (*b*) force or punishment.

According to Manu, without the knowledge of these two things, no king could maintain his prestige and personality.

According to Manu, the main job of the king was to maintain the values of dharma or duty and award punishment to those that disturbed the values of dharma or duty. According to Manu, people are afraid of doing wrong things only because of force or punishment. In Manu Smriti, there is mention of the fact that god, before birth of the king, gave birth to force or punishment in order to help the king in the discharge of his duties. Everything depends on force or danda. All beings who are animated or inanimated do not digress from the path of their duty only on account of the fear of punishment. According to Manu, it is the force or the punishment that is the leader, the king, the man. In other words, it is the punishment that keeps all the classes of the society or varnas and the ashramas within the limits of the discipline. Force of punishment, in fact, is the guarantee or the security of the duty or dharma. The punishment or force orders the entire subject of all the people, and protects them from the wrong-doers.

Manu has laid down that the king should use this power with discretion and sparingly. If punishment is awarded in an indiscreet manner, it brings about the downfall of the entire structure of the society. Punishment or the force should be combined with ethics or morality. It should not be given to an indiscreet person. If force is given to an indiscreet person, it can spoil the entire structure of the society.

Punishment for the welfare of the society—After giving a detailed description about the importance of punishment, Manu has laid down that it should be used for the welfare of the society. Manu has said that the king should see to it that the officer in charge for punishment should not use it in an indiscreet manner. Use of force or punishment should be controlled by discretion.[55]

Respect to learned men—According to Manu, it was an important duty of the king to accord respect to learned men. He was also expected to listen to Vedas everyday and carry-out the advice given by learned persons.

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[55] शुचिता सत्यमन्धने यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।
प्रणेतुं शक्यत्ते दण्डः सुसहामेन घीमता ॥
अन्यानपि प्रकर्वंति शुचीन् प्रज्ञानवस्थितान् ।
सम्यगर्थसमाहर्तृ न् अमात्यान्- सुपरीक्षितान् ॥

Council of ministers and its assistance—According to Manu, it was the duty of the king to take help from the council of ministers. He has also laid down that the instrument of force or punishment should be awarded by the ministers. He has, therefore, laid down that the ministers should be pious, learned and well tested.

Qualifications of the ministers—Manu has laid down that the ministers must possess the following qualifications :—

(*a*) They should belong to a family which has been serving the king for generations.

(*b*) They should know the shastras or should have knowledge about different aspects of the life. They should be good marks men and born of a good family.

(*c*) They should pass the examination set by the state.

Number of ministers—According to Manu, 8 to 10 ministers were to be appointed. These ministers were expected to be responsible for war, peace, prosperity and defence of the country. They were to be consulted individually as well as collectively by the king.

Principles underlaying the council of ministers—Manu has laid down the following principles with regard to the council of ministers :—

(*a*) The principle of tradition.

(*b*) The principle of ability or qualification.

(*c*) The principle or the test of valour or bravery.

(*d*) The principle of test or examination.

(*e*) The principle of fulfilment of the objectives or the aims.

Division of power and distribution of functions—Manu has laid down that there should be division of power and distribution on functions amongst the ministers. A person who was efficient at a job should be appointed minister for that particular department. He has further laid down that the king should discharge all his duties in consulation with the ministers.

Ambassadors and their appointment—Manu has laid down a detailed description about the ambassadors, their qualifications, appointment etc. It means that in those days relations between different countries were given a good deal of importance.

Put up of fort—In ancient India, fort occupied a very strategically important place. Manu, who was a thinker with extraordinary capacity to examine minute details, has given a detailed description about putting up of the forts. He has said that the fort should be situated at a place wherefrom forest, grass, water and the grains should be nearby. It should be situated at a place that it may not be possible for the enemy to attack easily.

Boundary of the village—Manu has laid down that the boundary of every village should be properly delimited. It should be marked by trees. These trees may be that of Banyan, saal, peepal etc. He has also said that shrubs and bushes should be planted on the boundaries of the village, so that the boundaries may not be destroyed.

Judicial administration and Manu—Manu, as we have already seen, was a great thinker. He had extraordinary intelligence and capacity to suggest ways and means for the integrated development of the society. Judicial administration is very important for the orderly development of the society. Manu has, therefore, laid down details about the administration of justice.

He has laid down that there are 18 ways of behaviour and life. According to him, there should be an assembly for administration of justice. It was called dharma sabha or the assembly of religion or duties. The head of the religion or Dharmadhyaksha was the head of this assembly. The king presided over this assembly and in his absence some other learned Brahman occupied the chair.

Justice was to be administered in accordance with the principles of the ways of life or the religion. He has, however, further stated that the judges should be capable of sifting the right from the wrong. Those judges that could not do it, were bound to be destroyed.

Manu has also laid down the qualifications about the judges. According to him, a judge should be fearless and capable of expressing his views freely.

Chief Justice—According to Manu, the Chief Justice was called 'Dharmasan' or the seat of justice. According to Manu, he was expected to be impartial and capable of collecting proper evidence. He has also suggested that the Chief Justice should take into consideration the evidence that is brought before him.

Manu has classified the evidence into the following *three categories* :—

(*a*) Written evidence or the evidence provided by the witnesses.
(*b*) The divine evidence.
(*c*) Oral or through evidence.

Manu has attached great importance to the written evidence. He has also laid down that the person who tenders wrong evidence must be penalized. According to Manu, the following persons are incapable of tendering evidence :—

(*a*) Lawyers.
(*b*) Slaves.
(*c*) Enemies.
(*d*) Mendicants or sanyasis.
(*e*) Lepers etc.

Importance of judiciary or judicial system—In ancient India, judiciary or administration of justice occupied a very important place. Even the king was considered to be subservient to judiciary of justice. Manu Smriti has laid down that if an ordinary person was to be awarded 20 whips for committing a crime, the king must be awarded 100 whips.[56]

Manu has given a detailed description about different varieties of the punishment. These punishments were to be judged by different aspects that governed those punishments.

Taxation and treasury—It is a known fact that no state can function without finances. The treasure of the state can be filled in only with the help of the taxes that are imposed upon the people. Manu has included different types of natural reasources in the treasury of the state He has suggested that the king should not impose many taxes. He has pleaded against the exploitation of the people by the king.

Taxes according to Manu—Manu has laid down the following types of taxes :—

1. Land revenue.
2. Fees.

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[56] कार्षायण भवेद् दण्डयो यात्रान्यः प्राकृतो जनः ।
तत्र राजा भवेद् दण्ड्यो सहस्त्रमिति धारणा ।।

3. Money received as a result of fine.
4. Taxes imposed on the use of the river water.
5. Plying of boats, etc.
6. Taxes on animals.
7. Taxes on artisans and people of other profession.
8. Sales tax.

Manu has laid down that gold should be taxed to the tune of 0 per cent, crops to the tune of 12 per cent, butter, honey, medicines, fruits, hides, earthen pots etc. to the extent of 16 per cent.

International relations—In Manu Smriti, a good deal of importance has been attatched on the international relations. He has laid down that the following are the important principles of inter-state relations[57] :—

(*a*) Seat.
(*b*) Conveyance.
(*c*) Peace and treaties, etc.

According to Manu, war was inevitable, but he has also laid down that war should be fought on the principles of truthfulness, justice and honesty. This is what has been described as dharmayudha.

Manu has also given a detailed description about the war strategy. He has described the organisation of the army, its deployment on the battlefield and the strategy to be adopted in different situations.

Manu has laid down that in war, the enemy should be mauld badly. It should be defeated in such a manner that it may not raise its head again. But Manu has stated that the defeated country should not be uprooted or destroyed completely. He has, however, suggested that the victor should, as far as possible, try to give the throne to somebody belonging to the vanquished nation and should try to enter into an agreement with it. According to Manu, this would be in the interest of nations as well as the lasting peace and strong relationship between the two countries.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Manu has been called the father of the ancient Indian polity. Manu Smriti is supposed to be the most reliable and impotant book on polity.

2. It is presumed that it was written sometimes during 200 to 300 B. C.

3. It is said that Manu Smriti forms the foundation of the social order of the Vedic times.

4. Manu Smriti is very important as a work of polity as it deals with different aspects of the states as well as its administration.

5. Manu could be compared with the exponents of social contract theory. He has also said that during primitive period, there was an anarchy and so God created the king in order to bring about social order.

6. Manu believed in the divine origin of the king.

7. Manu has treated king as the sovereign and the representative of God.

8. Manu has also laid down that the state came into being as a result of the act of the God.

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[57] आसनं चैव यानं च सन्धिं विग्रहमेव च ।
कार्यं बीक्ष्य प्रयुङ्जीत द्वैधं संश्रयमेव च॥

9. Manu has also laid down the qualifications of the king, who was supposed to have :—

(*a*) Control over his senses.

(*b*) Modest and courteous.

(*c*) Free from evil habits.

10. King, according to Manu, was expected to bring about the welfare of the people.

11. Manu has laid down that king must maintain the social values and dharma or the basic duties.

12. Manu has enjoined upon the king to respect learned men.

13. Manu has also laid down that there should be a council of ministers to help the king in the discharge of his duties.

14. Manu has laid down the principles that should govern the formation of the council of ministers.

15. He has also, in his Smriti, talked about the division of power and distribution of functions.

16. Other things about the administration, such as appointment of ambassadors, putting up of forts, delimination of the boundary of the village, etc., have also been dealt within Manu Smriti.

17. In Manu Smriti we find a detailed description about the judicial administration. He has dealt with the evidence, the procedure of the court, different types of the courts, etc.

18. In Manu Smriti, we also find description about the system of taxation, different types of taxes and the importance of the state treasury.

19. Manu has laid down that taxes should be levied on land, plying of boats, animals, sales of goods, etc.

20. He has also laid down that the taxation should not be heavy.

21. In Manu Smriti, a good deal of importance has been attached to international relations between different states. He has given details about it as well.

22. In short, it may be said that Manu, like the real father of the ancient Indian polity, has in his book described different aspects of the state administration.

CHAPTER XXXI

SUKRACHARYA

Q. What do you know about Sukra Nitisaar ? Discuss and evaluate its importance in the science of polity.

Or

Q. "Sukra has made a very valuable contribution to the Hindu science of polity". Discuss this statement.

Ans. Importance of Sukra—'*Sukra*' or '*Sukracharya*' is known by his work '*Sukra Niti*' in the field of Hindu polity. 'Sukra Niti' deals in a comprehensive manager the theoretical as well as practical administrative set-up. Essentially, it gives importance to force or the theory of punishment. In this book, we find a practical and detailed discussion of almost all aspects of Hindu polity and the administration of the state. There is also a classical discussion of different ideologies and ways of thinking. The following lines bring about this point more clearly :—

> "It (Sukra Niti) is very important for the students of ancient Indian Polity. Like other works of the class, it does not occupy itself with theoretical discussions of the principles of polity or government, but it gives us a more detailed and comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery than is given by any other work of the post-Kautilya epoch. Its polity is, of course, monarchical, republics having disappeared long before the date of the work."

Work about practical administrative machinery—Sukra Niti is not a theoretical discourse. It is a book about practical knowledge. In this book, we find a gist of several contemporary ideological trends. The main purpose of Sukra was to advise the king about the proper administration of the State as an organisation for the welfare of the subjects'.

No co-ordinated statement about things—'*Sukra Niti*' is not a compact work. It seems to be a loosely knit work containing description on different aspects of the state and its administration. We find that *Sukracharya* has tried to write about a particular thing and then disgressed towards another. In spite of this weakness, the book deals with different aspects of Hindu polity and state.

The subject-matter of Sukra Niti—In the days of Sukracharya, there were no republics. Monarchy had established itself as the most important and successful institution of the govrrnment. In '*Sukra Niti*', therefore, we find discussion about different aspects of monarchy. The following lines throw ample light on the subject-matter of '*Sukra Niti*' :—

> "Its polity is of course monarchical, republics having disappeared long before the date of the work. Besides discussing the duties of the king and the functions of his ministers and officers the work describes the problems of foreign policy and methods of warfare. Civil administration is described in very great details. We get a vivid picture of the judicial administration."

In order to have proper assessment of Sukra Niti as a work of polity, we should have an idea of the different aspects of the state and the polity that it deals with. Before we do it, it shall be proper to have an idea about the time of this work.

Time of Sukra—It is a known fact that it was Sukracharya who compiled or wrote this book. Who was Sukracharya and what was his time is not known to people. There is a lot of difference of opinion about the date of 'Sukra Niti'. The following lines throw light on this aspect of 'Sukra Niti' :—

> "Widely divergent views are held about the date of Sukra Niti. G. Oppert placed it even in the pre-Christian period ; Dr. U. N. Ghoshal thinks that the work was written between 1200 and 1600 A. D. and the view of R. L. Mitra was similar. The fact is that the work is a composite one was being re-touched down to the fourteenth century, but its greater part is to be ascribed to the eleventh or the twelfth century A. D."

The date about 'Sukra Niti' can be ascertained only by the references that the work contains. The events and the people that have been referred to in 'Sukra Niti' show that the work actually came into being in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. The following lines clarify it further :—

> "The statement that the Mlechhas resided in the northwest of India, the reference to the samantas as both feudatories and officials, the informa-

tion that the price of the gold was sixteen times that of silver, as stated by Bhaskaracharya, the inclusion of Desbhasas (vernaculars) as topics of study, the reference to the Advaita Vedant doctrine of Shanker that peace should be made even with an Anarya, because otherwise he may uproot the kingdom, the enunciation of the principles that the treasury should have reserve equal to twenty years' revenue, which was obviously followed by Hindu kings of the eleventh century as shown by the coins of the plunderers obtained from their treasuries by Muslim conquerers—All these tend to show that *the book as a whole belongs to the period between 900 and 1200* The verses dealing with fire arms and gun powder may have added by the end of the fourteenth century, when gun powder is known to have been used by the army of Vijai Nagar."

Sukra Niti not written at one time or at a stretch—Reference to all these events show that Sukra Niti was not written at a time or within a period of two to five or five to ten years. This book was written in a very long period and additions continued to be made to it.

'Sukracharya' was not one individual but a chain of successors. Who was *Sukracharya'* ? This question can rightly be posed in regard to 'Sukra Niti', because reference to this name is to be found since Vedic times. According to ancient Indian thinkers, *'Sukracharya'* was an original personality. He established a seat of learning, which was succeeded by his disciples. In the tradition of 'Sukracharya' several learned men came to that position and so the reference in different periods to *'Sukracharya'* is made to different personalities of those days.

In *Amarkosh* *'Sukracharya'* has also been referred to as Ushna, Kavya, Bhargava, Kavi, Drityaguru etc. In Mahabharat also, we find reference to *Sukracharya*. In Atharva Veda also, we find reference of Sukracharya. Since the time of Rig Veda and Atharva Veda, reference has been made to *Sukracharya'* and different synonyms of that great personality. It means that Sukra was an institution or a seat of learning, which was occupied in succession by different learned men. In *Shantiparva of Mahabharat*, there is also a reference to *'Sukracharya'* as a great poet, a learned man, a rishi. There is also reference to Sukracharya as a Guru of certain kings.

From the references of Mahabharat, it can be presumed that *'Sukracharya* belonged to the Mahabharat age. He was contemporary of king Yayati. This information is also not uncontrovertable. *'Kautilya'* in his *Arthasastra* has also made reference to *'Sukracharya'*. It means that he was predecessor of *Kautilya* in the field of Hindu polity as well.

Time of Sukracbarya on the basis of comparative Philology—Comparative philology also gives us an idea about the time of certain works of people. On the basis of comparative philology, we come to the conclusion that the language of "Sukra Niti' is not pretty old. It means that he neither belongs to the Vedic period nor *Mahabharat* period. Some scholars also hold the view that *Sukrachyrya*, who has been referred to in *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*, is not an actual author of 'Sukra Niti'. From the description of social order given in 'Sukra Niti', we find that it refers to the social order of the Gupta period. From this reference it may be concluded that 'Sukra Niti' was actually written in the Gupta period and the person who wrote Sukra Niti belonged to this period. However, from the discussions given above, it is quite evident that 'Sukra Niti' is not a very old book on polity. It belongs to the period between 900 and 1200 A. D.

Different subjects described in Sukra Niti—We have already seen that 'Sukra Niti' is essentially monarchical. The social order that it has referred to is monarchical. Apart from the political aspect of the society, it has also dealt with different other aspect of the state as well as the society. Given below is a brief description on the different subjects mentioned in 'Sukra Niti'

Origin of the state—Like other political thinkers, Sukracharya has also given his views about origin of the state. He believed in divine origin as well as organic theory of the state. On the one hand, he has said that the state came into being as a result of the gift of the God, on the other hand, he has compared it to a living organism. He has further stated that there are seven organs of the state that are like the organs of the body. He has further stated that the king is like the head of the body ; the minister like the eye, the friends of the king as ears, the treasury as the mouth, the force as the heart fort is like the hands and the kingdom like the feet etc.[58]

State like a tree—At another place, Sukracharya has compared the state to a tree. In this metaphor, he has described the king as the root, the ministers as the trunk, the commander-in-chief as the branches and the soldiers as the leaves and the flowers, while the subjects as the fruit and the land as the seed.

Exponent of the divine origin theory of the state—Although *Sukracharya* has compared the state to a living organism, yet from the references of Sukra Niti it can be safely gathered that he was essentially an advocate of the divine origin theory about the state. He has said that the god took out different elements from eight gods and incorporated them into the king. God, according to Sukracharya, is something from Indra, something from Vayu, Yama, Surya, Agni, Varun, Chandra and Kuber and gave it the form of a king. In other words, *Sukracharya* has put forward the theory that the king represents several gods. He has, at another place, also desoribed king as the representative of the god having an element of divinity in him.[59]

Functions of the king—*Sukracharya* has given a detailed description about the functions of the king. According to Sukra Niti, the king is expected to discharge two functions :—

(*a*) To protect his people or the subjects ; and

(*b*) To destroy the wicked persons or evil-doers.

In Sukra Niti, there is description about the ways and means of doing both these things.

Sukra has also laid down that king should try to bring about co-ordination in different organs of the state. In other words, he should try to bring about co-ordination between the land, the army and other forces. He has further stated that if the king does not do all these things, the state is likely to go astray.

Administration of force or punishment—*Sukra* has laid down that the king should administer force in a reasonable and healthy manner. According to 'Sukracharya', it is the force that compels people to lead a religious and pious life. Sukracharya has, therefore, suggested that the king should try to appeal his subjects to follow a religious and pious life. It can be possible only if the subjects are afraid of the power of the force of the king. According to Sukra, it is the king who inspires his subject to lead a religious and pious life. *Sukra* has laid down the following eight functions of the king :—

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[58] स्वाम्यमात्य सङ्गकोष राष्ट्र दुर्गबलानि च।
सप्तांगमुच्येत राज्यं तत्र मूद्धा नपः स्मृतः॥
दृगमात्यः सुहृदच्छोत्र मुखं कोशो बलं मनः।
हस्तौ पादौ दुर्गं राष्ट्रौ राज्यङ्गानि स्मृताति हिः॥

[59] इन्द्रानिलयमाकीणामग्नेश्चवरुणास्य च।
नद्र वित्तेशयोश्चापिमात्रा तिहृं त्यशाश्वती॥

1. To punish the evil-doers or the wicked persons.
2. To protect his subjects and to bring about their welfare.
3. To increase the resources of the state in a rightful and just manner.
4. To conduct Rajsuya Yajyas.
5. To bring about the upliftment and welfare of the state.
6. To realise taxes and tributes from the subject-kings.
7. To bring about the destruction of the enemies.
8. To undertake the settlement of the land.

Qualifications of the king—Sukracharya has also laid down the qualifications of the king. King according to *Sukra,* is expected to possess the following qualifications :—

1. He should be intelligent and capable of understanding different problems.

2. He should have the capacity to arrive at proper dicisions after proper consideration.

3. He should have control over his senses.

4. He should not be amenable to allurements and other attractions that surround him.[60]

Powers and privileges of the king—According to Sukracharya, the king has to possess certain powers and privileges. In this regard, he has laid down the following theories :—

1. **Hereditary privileges and rights**—According to his theory, the son is expected to succeed his father to the throne. *Sukra* has pleaded for the acceptance of this theory only to the extent that the son is capable of bringing about the welfare of the people. If he does not bring about the welfare of the subjects and causes trouble to them, *Sukracharya* has clearly stated that such a king should not be given any respect and some other person should be given his throne.

2. **Theory of privilege according to seniority**—In ancient India, it was the principle to provide succession to the throne to the senior-most or the eldest son of the king. This theory is based on the assumption that the soul of the father resides in the son. In Sukra Niti, it has been laid down that the eldest amongst the sons of the king should succeed to the throne.

3. **Theory of succession or privilege according to the physical capacity or capability**—According to this theory, only that person should succeed the throne who does not suffer from any physical disability. It means that decrepits cannot succeed the throne. According to this theory, if the elder son suffers from some physical disability, such as leprosy, deafness, dumbness, blindness, impotency etc., the younger son should be given the throne.

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[60] विषयाभिवलोभेन मनः प्रेयरतोन्द्रियम् ।
तन्निसद्धयात् प्रयत्नेन जिते तस्मिन जितेन्द्रियः ॥
एकस्यैव हि यऽशक्तो मनसः सन्निवर्हणे ।
महीं सागरपर्यन्तां स कथं ह्यावजष्यति ॥

4. Theory of superiority of character—In Sukra Niti, great stress has been laid on the superiority of the character. The king, according to *Sukracharya*, must possess a very strong and high character.

5. Theory of the privilege on the basis of the consent of the people—In Sukra Niti, it has been laid down that while appointing a king, the consent of the people must be taken. It means that in those days only those persons could succeed to the throne who enjoy the confidence of the subject. It was in many respects democratic in character.

Appointment of the ministers and others heads of departments—In 'Sukra Niti', there is a detailed description about the procedure and the method of the appointment of the ministers and other heads of departments. In fact, according to '*Sukracharya*', ministers are inevitable for the king.[61] He has given the names and status of different ministers and also their functions. *Sukracharya* has also given description of a council of ministers, that was not under the king, but that helped the king in the proper discharge of his functions and also checked him from becoming a despot.

Number of the ministers—In 'Sukra Niti', it has been laid down that there should be ten ministers. He has also laid down the qualifications and the requirements of those ministers. He has laid great stress on the point that the ministers should be efficient, capable and loyal.

Qualifications of the ministers—According to *Sukracharya*, the ministers should possess the following qualifications :—

(*a*) They should come of a noble family.
(*d*) They should possess high and strong character.
(*c*) They should be royal to the king and the state.
(*b*) They should belong to the state in which they are appointed ministers.

Control ever the officials and the public servants—In 'Surka Niti', great stress has been laid on the control of the government officials and employees. *Sukracharya* has laid down that officials and heads of the departments are inevitable for proper functioning of the state. He has, therefore, laid down the qualifications and the requirements of the heads of the departments and other officials.

Treasury—*Sukracharya* has said that the treasury or the resources of the state are very important for proper functioning of the state. He has compared the treasury with the mouth. The body cannot function unless the mouth is healthy and functions properly. *Sukracharya* has also laid down the following three ways of spending the money :—

(*a*) Maintenance of the army.
(*b*) Welfare of the people.
(*c*) Organisation of the yajyas.

He has also laid down the ways of collecting the funds of the state. The person who was responsible for the safety of the treasury was called the Treasurer or 'Koshadhyksha'.

Force and the politics—Sukracharya has attached great importance to force. In fact, he thinks that it is through force only a state can be administered successfully and in an efficient manner. By force, *Sukracharya* meant the army or the police force.

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[61] सर्वं विद्यासु कुशलो नृपो ह्यापि सुमन्त्रवित् ।
मंत्तिभिस्तु बिनामत्रं नेकार्थं चिन्तयेत् क्वचित ।।

Kinds of force—*Sukracharya* has described the following six types of force of powers :—

(*a*) Spiritual force.
(*b*) Military force.
(*c*) Physical or bodily force.
(*d*) Armed force.
(*e*) Power of the intelligence or force of the intelligence.
(*f*) Power of the age or force of the age.

Amongst these forces, *Sukracharya* has given the most important place to army. He has said that the king must possess the morality as well as the army. If a king possesses both these things, the wealth automatically flows to him. Since *Sukracharya* has attached great importance to army, he has laid down that a good deal of the state treasury must be spent on the maintenance of the army.

Force and discretion—Sukracharya has stated that the force should be used with discretion. Probably, *he believed in the principle 'discretion is the better part of valour.'* It was on account of this conviction that he said if the enemy is strong a treaty should be entered into. *Sukracharya* has further laid down that the king should not hesitate in using different types of politics or different strategies for securing the objectives. In 'Sukra Niti' we also find a detailed description about the organisation of the army and its deployment on the battlefield.

Importance of taxation—Without taxes, it is not possible to collect funds for the maintenance and upkeep of the government and the state. *Sukracharya* has, therefore, laid that the *land revenue must be collected.* He has laid down great stress on the land revenue. In this regard he has said that one-fourth or one-third or one-half of the produce, may be collected as revenue from the farmers. This percentage was to be determined according to the fertility of the land. He has further laid down that only one-sixth, one eighth or one-twelfth of the total produce of the fallow or unfertile land should be collected.

Market tax or fee—Apart from the land revenue, *Sukracharya* has also laid down that the king must get his share out of the business that is carried out by the traders. In other words, it may be said that Sukracharya has provided for the sales tax and the market duty. He has said that one-thirtieth second, one-twentieth or one-sixteenth may be collected from the traders as well as buyers by way of produce or sales tax.

In short, it may be said that *Sukracharya* has not only pleaded for the taxation of the land but also for the trade and business.

Judicial system—*Sukracharya* in 'Sukra Niti', has pleaded for a very scientifically organised and ideal judicial system. He said that different classes of people should be provided justice according to their religion, requirements and other traditions.[62]

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[62] वर्तमानश्च प्राचीनाः धर्मा के च लोकसंश्रिता ।
शास्त्रेण के समुदिदष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च कऽधुना ॥
लोकशास्त्राविरुद्धाः के पण्डिस्तान विचिन्त्य च ।
नृप सम्बोधयेद्र तैश्च परंत्रहं सुखपदो ॥

Justice as the basis of administration—*Sukracharya* has laid down that the justice or truthfulness should be the basis of every king. He has, therefore, laid down that all the arguments of the state and the persons responsible for the administration of the state should conduct their affairs in a truthful and honest manner.

In those days, judges were appointed by the king himself. These judges were expected to be beyond approach and above board. There were other persons also responsible for helping the judges to arrive at proper descisions. In those days, king was the head of judicial administration as well.

Sukracharya has laid down that different types of punishment should be awarded for different types of crimes or faults. This very clearly indicates that Sukracharya had a scientific notion about the administration of justice.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY OF SUKRACHARYA

Q. Discuss Sukracharya's conception of constitutional monarchy ?

Ans. Divine origin theory of Sukracharya about the king—We have seen it earlier that *Sukracharya* was an advocate of the Divine Origin Theory of the state or the king. He believed that kingship came into being as a result of an act of God in order to provide peace and stability to the people. *Sukracharya* has compared the king to God and has stated that God created king after extracting different elements from different gods. He has, therefore, pleaded that king represents different gods.

Constitutional monarchy—Although on the one hand, 'Sukra Niti' has expounded the theory of the divine origin of kingship, on the other it has laid great stress on imposing checks on the king, so that he may not become a despot or an uncontrollable ruler. He has pleaded for a guide or constitution monarchy as shall be evident from the following lines :—

> "The state (king) as envisaged by Sukra was an organisation for the welfare of the subjects. It was not only to suppress crime and disorder, but to control gambling and drinking. It was to maintain hospitals and rest houses and encourage learning and scholarship. It was to increase the resources of the country by encouraging trade, developing mines, forests and industries and executing schemes of irrigation[63].

Sukracharya opposed to a despot—*Sukracharya* was not prepared to allow the king to become a despot. He, in fact, wanted a constitutional monarch who carried out the administration of the state with the help of the representatives of the people or his ministers. In other words, it may be said that he wanted a king to conduct the affairs of the state in the best interest of the people. In 'Sukra Niti', it has been laid down that if a king exploits his subjects or causes harassment to them, the ministers must warn him. If the king disregards the advice of the ministers, Sukra Niti has laid down that the ministers have a right to oppose him and revolt against him. Similarly, it has provided for revolt against a despot or a king who did not look after the welfare of the people. *Sukracharya* has gone to the extent of suggesting that "since the people pay him the proper wage, the king must serve them as a servant, nay as a slave. This is, of course, a hyperbolic statement; the reality is hinted by *Sukra* when he describes the king both as a master and servant of the people[64].

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[63] Dr. A. S. Altekar—"State and Government in Ancient India'.

[64] स्वमाभृत्वा दास्यत्वे प्रजानाञ्च नृपः कृतः ।
ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥

King as the master as well as the servant of the people—In 'Sukra Niti', king has been described as a master as well as the servant of the subjects. He was expected to work under the direction of the council of ministers who were the representatives of the people and were alive to the aspirations of the people. In other words, it means that the ministry in normal times provided an efficient check on the king's activities.

The greatest check suggested by 'Sukra Niti' was the religion or the requirements of spiritualism. He has also laid down that the king should be properly trained, so that he may not go astray.

Check of the people over the king—In 'Sukra Niti', *Sukracharya* has talked about two checks on the king to be exercised by the people :—

(*a*) The threat of the people to leave the kingdom and go to other country. This is what is contained in the following lines :—

> "Our ancient thinkers, however, do not contemplate that the subjects should take oppression laying down. If is recommended that they should threaten the tyrant that they would migrate from the country and go to another, which was better governed ; it was probably hoped that the prospective loss of the revenue may bring the king to his senses. If this did not produce any effect, the subjects were to dethrone the king and enthrone a relation of his who may appear to be suitable."

(*b*) *Sukracharya* has also laid down that the subjects must be consulted in the enthronement of a king. It was, of course, a democratic tradition, which exercised a good deal of check on the king.

In short, it may be said that Sukracharya was in favour of a constitutional monarchy. In his times, republics were not to be seen and so he has described monarchy as the form of government but he has not allowed the monarchy to become a despot or tyrant. He has preferred a constitutional monarch.

CONCLUSIONS

1. *Sukracharya* has a high status as a writer of Hindu Polity. His 'Sukra-Niti' is an important work, that deals with different aspects of administration.

2. Although 'Sukra Niti' does not contain co-ordinated statements about things, yet it has suggested practical ways of administering the state.

3. It deals with the monarchy and the different organs of its administration.

4. It is said that it was written sometimes between eleventh or twelfth century A. D. 'Sukra Niti' does not seem to have been written at a stretch. It seems to have been written at different times according to the requirements of those days.

5. *Sukracharya* was not an individual. He was, in fact, head of a seat of learning. That is why we find reference of this name in different periods of the history of India..

6. In 'Sukra Niti', we have description about different subjects pertaining to State administration.

7. According to *Sukracharya*, king was the creation of God. In other words, he was the exponent of the divine origin theory.

8. *Sukracharya* has laid different functions of the state. These included :—

(*a*) Protection of the people ; and

(*b*) Destruction of the evil-doers.

9. In 'Sukra Niti', great stress has been laid to force or punishment. In other words, he believed in the force theory of administration.

10. *Sukracharya* has laid definite qualifications of the king. According to him, the king was expected to be :—

(*a*) Intelligent.

(*b*) Capable of arriving at proper decisions.

(*c*) Having control over his senses.

(*d*) Free from allurements, etc.

Sukracharya has laid down the following theories about succession to the throne or privileges and rights :—

(*a*) Hereditary theory.

(*b*) Succession on the basis of seniority.

(*c*) Succession on the basis of physical fitness or capacity.

(*d*) Theory of superiority of character.

(*e*) Theory of consent of the people.

12. *Sukracharya* has laid down definite procedure about the appointment of the ministers and other officials of the state.

13. 'Sukra Niti' has laid down that the council of ministers is inevitable for efficient and smooth running of the administration. In other words, he has said that the king should not act without taking his ministers into confidence.

14. 'Sukra Niti' has also laid down qualifications about the ministers, which are as follows :—

(*a*) They should belong to the country.

(*b*) They should have strong and high character.

(*c*) They should be loyal to the king and the state.

(*d*) They should come of a noble family.

15. *Sukracharya* has also laid down the ways and means of exercising checks and control over the ministers and other officers of the government.

16. While attaching a good deal of importance to the force. *Sukracharya* has described different types of force. He has laid great stress on military force or army.

17. 'Sukra Niti' has laid down definite rules and regulations about the treasury and increasing the resources of the state.

18. He has also given a detailed and scientific description about the organisation of the army and its deployment on the battle-field.

19. In 'Sukra Niti', we find a detailed and scientific description of the judicial organisation. According to *Sukracharya*, a state cannot function properly if its policies are not based on justice and truthfulness.

20. In 'Sukra Niti', different types of punishment have been laid down for different crimes. In other words, it means that in that book there is a scientific discussion about the theory of crime and punishment.

21. *Sukracharya* was an advocate of constitutional monarchy. He did not like the idea of the king degenerating into a tyrant or despot. He has, therefore, prescribed definite checks for the king. These checks included the checks exercised by the people and the council of ministers.

CHAPTER XXXII

KAUTILYA—THE MAIN ARCHITECT OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Q. Give a brief description about Kautilya as an author of the most important book available today on ancient Indian Polity ?

Or

Q. What do you know about the Arthasastra of Kautilya ? Explain.

Ans. Kautilya and his Arthasastra—Today the most important book, that is available about the ancient Indian Polity, is the Arthasastra. It is said that it was written by Kautilya. Who was Kautilya ? It is a different question, that requires definite answer. The Arthasastra of Kautilya gives a detailed description, and scientific too, about different aspects of the administration and Hindu Polity. The following lines give an assessment of Kautilya's Arthasastra :—

> "This monumental work has now for some years been before the scholars for critical study. And it is no longer correct to assert that the Hindu mind did not conduce to the development of the political theories. It is no longer correct to affirm that the Indians never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environments and never set up its science or art as an independent branch of knowledge. The very first chapter of Kautilya's work enlightens us on this point. It deals with the vidyas or branches of knowledge, which were prevalent in his time. All human knowledge known to India was, in the time of Kautilya, divided into four branches. They were Anvikshaki, Philosophy, Trayi, Theology, Varta, Economics, and Dandaniti or Polity. It is not clear from this enumeration that the Hindu mind sharply and unmistakably separated Polity, as also Economics, from Philosophy and Theology, and regarded it as an independent subject of study ? It will further be seen that in the time of Kautilya the Hindu mind showed equitable regard to the science making for material progress and those conducing to spiritual culture. There was absolutely no encroachment of either Philosophy or Theology upon the domain of Polity or Economics, as no doubt was the case in later times. On the contrary, we have every reason to suspect that there was an encroachment the other way, that is, the encroachment of Polity upon Theology or Philosophy. Thus one school of politicians, namely, the Barhaspatyas, distinctly laid down that Trayi or Theology, which consisted of Vedic literature and lore, was a pious fraud.. Nay another school, namely, the Ausanasas ran to the extreme of reducing all vidyas to one, namely, Dandaniti, and asseverating that Dandaniti alone deserved to be called vidya. Theology and Philosophy were thus subordinated by them to the Science of Polity which alone engrossed the mind of this school. Where such was the state of things, as we can clearly see from Kautilya's Arthasastra. it will now be absurd to affirm that the Indians had for ever subordinated the study of the Science of Politics to that of Theology and Philosophy and had never developed it as an independent branch of knowledge."[65]

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[65] D. R. Bhandarkar—'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity',

Arthasastra is a manual of administration—It is not a theoretical work only. It lays down cereain practical suggestions for proper administration and government as shall be evident from the following quotation :—

> "The Arthasastra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration or of the political science. It is mainly concerned with the practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions, both in peace and war, with an exhaustiveness not seen in any later work, with the possible exception of *Sukra Niti*".

The real author of Arthasastra—Who was Kautilya, the author of Arthasastra. It is said that this monumental work on Hindu Polity has been written by Chanakya or Vishnu Gupta, who was also known a Kautilya. It is also said that he was the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya and helped him to establish the Mauryan empire.

Arthasastra as a integrated work—Kautilya was, in fact, founder of a particular political school. His book Arthasastra has superseded all the works of his predecessors. It is also an integrated work. In it we find referenees to Yajnavalkya Smriti, Manu Smriti, etc. It shall be more clear from the following lines :—

> "This conclusion is supported by the data of the Arthasastra of Kautily.; for innumerous places it refers to and discuss the views of Vishalaksha, Indra (Bahudanta). Brahaspati. Sukra, Manu, Bharadwaj, Gaurasiras Parasara, Pishun.........and other scholars of science of polity that are referred to in Arthasastra."[66]

Date of Arthasastra—There is a good deal of difference of opinion about the date of Arthasastra. Some of the scholars are of the view that this book was written by Chanakya or Kautilya who helped Chandra Gupta to establish the Mauryan empire These scholars, therefore, hold the view that it was written sometimes 320 B. C. On the other hand, others hold the view that it is a work of 300 A. D. This book has so much of importance as monumental work of Hindu Polity that its date needs to be ascertained properly.

View of the scholars who hold the view that Arthasastra was written in 300 A. D. or later on—Winternitz, Jolly, Keith and Bhandarkar hold the view that Arthasastra is a work written in the early centuries of the Christian era. The following lines clarify their view-point further :—

> "The second school points out that if the book was really written by Kautilya, the Mauryan Premier, it is strange that it should not contain some references to the Mauryan empire and its administrative machinery so well-known to us from Greek sources. It ignores the boards of town officials and lays down no rules for the care of the foreigners, for escorting them to the border and looking after that effects if deceased. The fact that the views of Kautilya himself were quoted in third person would suggest that the real writer of the work was different from him".[67]

Views of Shama Shastri and Jayaswal—These two scholars do not agree with the conclusions of Dr. Bhandarkar and others. They point out that the colophon of the work distinctly states that it was written by Kautilya, who had rescued the country from the Nandas To say that the author was not acquainted with the wide empire is incorrect, for he states (at page 340) that the sphere of the jurisdiction of a *Chakravartin* exists from the Himalayas to the ocean.

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66. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'
67. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India',

Description of certain institutions of the Mauryan days—In Arthashastra there may not be description about the boards, but certainly there is description about the superintendence of different departments. Reference to Kautilya as third person only points out to the tradition of reference to their ownselves by the authors in that style.

Sources referred to by Kautilya—Kautilya, in Arthasastra, has made reference to certain sources. These sources are none but the other monumental works on Hindu Polity. He has made reference to a particular shloka that has been quoted by the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhasa. The shlokas to which the reference has been made are traditional ones. Both Kautilya and Bhasa have borrowed from some other source.

Time of Kautilya on the basis of the memoirs of Megasthenese—In the memoirs of Megasthenese, there is mention of the name of Kautilya. On the basis of this, it is sometimes argued that Kautilya was not a historical figure. These scholars give added credence to the lack of historicity of Kautilya, because his name has not been mentioned by Patanjali, the famous grammarian. The memoirs of Megasthenese are available only in fragments and so it would be wrong to draw conclusions about Kautilya on the basis of those fragments. Patanjali has made no reference to Ashoka and Bindusar, the two famous kings. By this, it cannot be concluded that these kings did not exist.

Depiction of the society—Kautilya has depicted a society that existed only during the Mauryan period. This reference can very safely establish it that it was written sometimes during the Mauryan period. The following quotation in this reference is quite relevant :—

> "The society depicted by Kautilya permits levirate and remarriage of widows, as also post-puberty marriages and divorces. (Pages 151-159). This was the state of affairs in the Mauryan age. Scant respect is shown to Buddhism (page 199) and persons are prohibited from becoming recluses without providing for their families (page 48). This would indicate that this was written at a time when Buddhism had not yet become strong enough to induce people to leave their families and join the order. The work uses the word '*Yukta*' in the sense of an official, as is done in the edicts of Ashoka. In later centuries this term went out of vogue."

Reference to certain republics—In Arthasastra there is reference to the republics of Madras, Kambojas, the Lichchavis and the Mallas as republics in book XI, Chapter I of the Arthasastra. It indicates that the book belongs to the early Mauryan times. It was in that period that the republics were flourishing. In the fourth century A. D. very few such republics were in existence.

Panini and Kautilya—Arthasastra refers to only four parts of speech and not eight, as has been done by Panini. This very thing has been done by Yaska, another grammarian. who existed before Panini. It only means that in the time of Kautilya, Panini had not gained the prominence that he gained later on. This again goes to prove that Arthasastra was written in the fourth century B. C. and not in the fourth century A. D.

Resemblance between Arthasastra and Memoirs of Megasthenese—Megasthenese may not have made direct reference to Kautilya, but there is resemblance in the reference of the institutions made by both the persons as shall be evident from the following lines :—

> "Like Megasthenese, the Arthasastra refers to the royal procession at the time of hunting and religious ceremonies (book I, Chapter 20) and to the necessity of guarding the road on the occasion (book I, Chapter 18),

Both the authorities refer to the female body to the king and to his habit of shampooing (book I, Chapter I, 19). Megasthenese's account of irrigation, canals and *setubandha* in the Arthasastra (book VII; Chapter 14). Megasthenese's overseer moving up and down and reporting to the king are obviously the spies of Arthasastra "

Discrepancies between Kautilya and Megasthenese are due to unreliability of the account of Greek ambassador—The account given by Megasthenese, the Greek ambassador, is sometimes not reliable. It is here that we find discrepancy between Kautilya's Arthasastra and Greek ambassador's accounts. Kautilya in Arthasastra he supported his statements with facts and evidence. Sometimes this evidence has been drawn from Dharma Sutra, written about 400 B. C. These references also prove that the Kautilya's Arthasastra was written sometimes in the Mauryan period. He may be at variance with Megasthense, but it is only due to Megasthenese's incomplete knowledge about Indian affairs.

Agreement between Megasthenese and Kautilya—There is broad agreement between the statements given by Kautilya in Arthasastra and those contained mentioned by Megasthenese in his memoirs about administration and social affairs of the time. This thing also goes to prove that the two were not far removed from each other in time

Arthasastra—On the whole, a book written in the early Mauryan period—On the basis of discussion given above, it may be safely concluded that Arthasastra is a work of early Mauryan period. Some of the portions may not belong to the Mauryan age. They might have been incorporated at some later date, but in substance. Arthasastra was written in the early Mauryan period. The following lines justify this point further :—

> "The above facts as well as the colophon of the work would suggest that its kernel at any rate belongs to the Mauryan age and embodies the views of Kautilya. It was, however, re-touched here and there in later times. Thus the reference to China could have been in the original work, as the country was not known by the name in C. 300 B. C. It is probable that the passages containing the term Suranga, derived from the Greek term 'Syrink' may be later. At page 255 the view of Bharadwaja is placed after that of Kautilya. This may be an instance of opposite views being placed side by side in an impartial manner. But if it suggests that the view of Bharadwaj was to be preferred to that of Kautilya, the passage would be a latter addition."

Apart from a few such passages, the work seems to be substantially of the Mauryan age and may be taken to embody the views of the great minister of Chandra Gupta.

Significance of Kautilya's Arthasastra as a book of Ancient Indian Polity—Arthasastra of Kautilya has a very significant place as a book of Hindu Polity. As already stated, it is not a theoretical book, but a practical manual of the administration that gives an up-to-date knowledge about different requirements and elements of administration. *Dr. Beni Prasad* has rightly said :—

> "As a scheme of administrative organisation, the Arthasastra is unsurpassed in Hindu literature. It is complete in its prospective, detailed in its regulations, thorough in its treatment. It makes provision for all contingencies, for all imaginable possibilities. As a statement of Hindu administrative theory, it leaves hardly anything to be desired...........In the Arthasastra everything is elaborately planned, carefully thought out. Kautilya's dialectical method points in the same direction. He is fond of inventing problem riddles. Where possible, he states, discusses, and

> corrects the views of others and aims at the perfect conclusion. In it thus only in fundamentals and in broad outline of administrative structure which no theoretician could have produced out of his own fancy that Kautilya can be relied for the practical working of instructions. On the other hand, Kautilya's secular tone and freedom from any religious bias tend to show that priestly influenced was not always so powerful as the Dharma Sastras might lead us to suppose."[68].

In *Arthasastra* we find the description of different aspects connected with administration. No doubt, he was an advocate of the monarchy, may be constitutional monarchy. He has, therefore, described the training of the princes, the qualifications of the ministers, appointment of the ministers, working of the ministry etc. The importance of the book and its place in the literature of Hindu Polity can well be judged from the following lines :—

> "The next important source is the famous *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. It belongs to the same category as the above works but discusses the old topics with a remarkable thoroughness, referring to the views of earlier writers and advancing its own theories. The setting of the work is secular. In Dharma Sutra works, Raja Dharma forms but one section. Here on the other hand the study of the state is the main topic, though the king is expected to master the Vedas and philosophy."

The subject matter of *Arthasastra* is very comprehensive and up-to-date :—

> "After discussing in Book I, the various problems connected with the kingship, it gives an exhaustive picture of the civil administration in Book II. The next two books deal with the civil, criminal and personal law. The Book V deals with the duties and responsibilities of the courtiers and retainers of the king and Book VI describes the nature and functions of the seven *Prakritis* of the state. Then the work devotes its last 9 Books to an exhaustive discussion of the problems connected with the foreign policy, the 'circles' of the kings and the policy to be followed in connection with its different members, the ways and means by which to establish one's ascendancy among them, the occasions suitable for war and peace, the manner in which the warfare was to be carried out on or dissensions were to be sown among the enemies."[69]

Different elements of the state or seven Prakritis of the state—*Kautilya in Arthasastra* has laid down that there are seven Prakritis or elements of the state, which are as follows :—

1. Master or the king.
2. The ministers or Amatyas.
3. Janapada or the council or assembly.
4. The fort or durg.
5. Treasury or Kosha.
6. Danda or force.
7. Allies or friends, *i. e.* mitras.

King or the Master—Kautilya has given the highest place to the king or the master. He has described him as the representative of God. He has, therefore, laid down certain qualifications for the king. According to Kautilya, the king should possess a very high character. He should have control over his senses and should not be under the influence of sensuality (Kama), anger (Krodh), pride

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68. 'The State in Ancient India'.

69. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

(Mada), allurements (Lobh), attachment (Moh) etc. He has also put forward a detailed daily routine of the king. In this routine the maximum of the time is spent on looking after the welfare of the people or the subjects. Kautilya has also advised the king to observe certain precautions. He has, therefore, enjoined upon the persons responsible for the security of the king certain obligations and duties that must be discharged at all times.

Council of ministers—According to Kautilya, council of ministers is inevitable for proper guidance of the king. He has further advised the king to take help from the ministers and consult them about different problems. He has not laid down any specific number of the ministers. According to Kautilya, the king may consult three or four ministers.

Apart from this, in *Arthasastra*, there is a detailed description about the qualifications, the method of consultation, the procedure about holding the meetings of the council of ministers, the chairman of the council of ministers, the chairman of the council of ministers, their qualifications etc.

In *Arthasastra*, there is a detailed description about the judicial system as well. The judicial system suggested by Kautilya in Arthasastra is quite scientific and very well planned. He has laid down rules and regulations about the procedure of holding the court, acquiring evidence, listening to the witnesses, appointment of judges, their conduct, punishment etc. The views of Kautilya in all these matters are very scientific and up-to-date.

Relations with other countries and appointment of ambassadors and representatives there—Kautilya has laid down the rules and regulations about inter-state relations. He has laid down the Mandal number. According to this number, the state has been categorized under the four heads :—

(*a*) Allies or friendly states.
(*b*) Opponents or enemy states.
(*c*) Ordinary or middle states.
(*d*) Indifferent states.

He has also laid down the principles that govern the relations between different states. He has advised the king to establish certain relations with certain states while he has suggested that in other states seeds of dissensions must be sown, so that they may never become strong.

Ambassadors or Doot—Among the seven elements of the state, Kautilya has given an important place to ambassador or doot. Doot or ambassador, according to Kautilya, is to be the mouth-piece of the king. It is through him that different states have a dialogue. In ancient India, it was through the ambassadors that relations were established between different states. He has further suggested that doot or ambassador should move in the kingdom of another king and should have a good deal of paraphernalia, so that he may be able to make presents to the ruler of the country in which he resides, as and when required.

Functions of the Ambassador—According to Kautilya, the ambassadors or doots are expected to carry out the following functions :—

1. To carry the message of the king to some other king.
2. To see the observance of the principles of treaty.
3. To collect friends and make friends.
4. To sow seeds of dissensions amongst the friends of the enemy country or opponent country.
5. To have thorough knowledge of the spies or espionage system.

Kautilya has described the three categories of ambassadors or doots. Even today we find such a categorization. Kautilya has made these categories on the basis of their qualification and competence. Today this classification is based on the country to which the ambassador is assigned his duties and the types of functions that he has to discharge.

Spy system—Kautilya has laid great stress on espionage. He has given importance to this institution, in order to acquire knowledge about the internal condition of the kingdom as well as the activities of rulers of other countries. He has given a detailed description about different categories of the spies. We have already discussed this.

Administration of the city and the village—In the times of Kautilya, the smallest unit of the administration was village and the city. Kautilya has given a detailed description about the administration of the cities and the villages. He has also given description of the different categories of the cities as well as villages. In other words, it may be said that Kautilya was very upto-date in looking after different aspects of the administration.

In short, it may be said that Kautilya in Arthasastra has presented a scientific and detailed picture of the administration and its various elements.

CONCLUSIONS

1. *Kautilya* is known by Arthasastra, which is considered to be a monumental work on Hindu Polity. Arthasastra is a manual of administration.

2. There is a lot of difference of opinion about the real author of Arthasastra. Generally, it is believed that Kautilya or Chanakya, the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, wrote this book.

3. *Arthasastra* is an integrated work of Hindu Polity. It contains views of almost all his predecessors.

4. There is also difference of opinion about the date of Arthasastra. Some of the authors think that this book was written in 300 A. D. or later on, while others hold the view that it was written in 300 B. C. On the basis of the references available in Kautilya's Arthasastra and on the basis of other proofs, it can safely be concluded that the book was written sometimes fourth ceutury B. C.

5. In the *Arthasastra* a reference has been made to certain republics which existed in that period. Similarly, in Arthasastra, we do not find any reference to Panini and his classification of parts of speech. This also indicates that the book was written around 4th century B. C.

6. In spite of the difference, at certain places in the memoirs of Megasthenese and Arthasastra, there is a lot of similarity between the two. On the basis of this similarity, it can be presumed that the two were contemporaries. Megasthenese has not presented correct picture of all the things of India of his time Probably, he was not aware of all the things of his time. On the other hand, Kautilya has not only referred to certain things but tried to support his reference with definite evidence.

7. *Kautilya's Arthasastra* is unsurpassed as a book of Hindu Polity. It gives a detailed descriprion about different aspects of administration. In Arthasastra. Kautilya has talked about seven elements of the state. In these elements, he has given the highest place to the king. He has further stated that the council of ministers is a must for every state.

8. In *Arthasastra*, there is also a description about the Doot system or appointment or ambassadors in different states. In other words, he has talked about the inter-state relationship in a scientific manner.

9. *Arthasastra*, we find a detailed description about the spy system or the espionage system. Kautilya thought it necessary in order to acquire first hand knowledge about the internal situation of the state and also situation in other states.

10. In *Arthasastra*, there is also detailed description about the city and the village administration. He has categorised the city into different types and categories and has, consequently, categorized the administration in different ways.

11. *Arthasastra*, in short, presents a scientific study of all the aspects of administration.

CHAPTER XXXIII

KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI—A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Q. Examine critically the nature and scope of Kautilya's Arthasastra ?

Or

Q. Compare and contrast Kautilya and Machiavelli ?

Ans. Kautilya and Arthasastra—We have already seen that Arthasastra was written by Kautilya, who was the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the founder of the Mauryan empire. In the previous chapter, we have seen that a controversy was raked up about the date of book. Dr. Jolly has gone to the extent of pronouncing this book to be a piece of forgery of about third century A. C. According to him, the real author was only a theoretician and no statesman but, perhaps, an official in a state of medium size. This view is most uncharitable. Dr. Jolly has based his conclusion on certain facts that in themselves are not very dependable. The basis of his arriving at this conclusion was that there was a discrepancy between the statement of Kautilya and Megasthenese. This argument about the authorship has already been disposed of in the previous chapter. *Dr. K. P. Jayaswal*, Smith and other scholars have countered these arguments very successfully and proved that Arthasastra was written by Chandra Gupta Maurya's Prime Minister, Chanakya, around the year 400 B. C.

Dr. Satyaketu Vidyalankar, on the basis of reference in other books, has also held the view that Arthasastra was written by Kautilya and that too around 400 B. C.

Date of Arthasastra—We have alrealy seen that there has been a good deal of controversy about the date of Arthasastra. Some scholars have put forward the view that it dates back to 400 B. C., while others think that it was written some time about 400 A. D.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has remarked :—

> "The more important aspect is hinted at by Kautilya in concluding verse of his work : Here we are told that his scientific work has been composed by one who agreely and quickly rescued the science itself as well as the art of warfare and the dominion belonging to the Nanda king. This last reference has been quoted in support of the orthodox tradition which

attributes the authorship of the work to the well known Chief Minister of Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Imperial Mauryan dynasty, in succession to the dynasty of the Nandas".[70]

Kautilya as the founder of a particular school—Kautilya was not only a statesman but also founder of a particular school of politics, which is reflected in his monumental work Arthasastra. The following lines very aptly depict this position :—

> "Kautilya was not only a famous statesman but also the founder of a school of politics ; hence the great respect in which his name and work have been held by the subsequent centuries. Both Nana and Dandin referred to the study of this work, specially by the princes, and the Jain tradition, as recorded in Nandi Sutra enumerates the work among the heretical books along with the Ramayan and Bharat. Even South Indian epigraphs describe skilled administrators and diplomats like king, Durvinit (ninth century) and Marashimha (tenth century) of the Ganga dynasty as incarnations of Vishnu Gupta's or Kautilya or as well versed in his state craft".

Significance of Arthasastra—Arthasastra occupied a unique position. Apart from Kautilya being the founder of a school of politics like Machiavelli, he gave the work Arthasastra which had its unique position in the field of polity. This what we find in the following lines :—

> "The position of the Arthasastra in the realm of the literature on politics is analogus to that of Panini's Ashtadhyayi in the field of grammar. Like Panini, Kautilya superseded all his predecessors ; their works were, therefore, lost in the course of time. The excellence of Panini's work so great that very few among the later grammarians thought it possible to supersede the great master. The same apparently was the view of the later scholars in the realm of political science".[71]

Arthasastra—This book has 32 divisions, 15 books or parts and 150 chapter. Professor Altekar thinks that after Mahabharat it is Arthasastra that occupies an important place as a book of polity. It is secular in character and free from the influence of dharmasastra. It is a monumental work of polity or political science. Dharmasastra deals with only the duty or the religion of the state while in Arthasastra there is description of different faces of the state craft. The *first division* deals with the rules regarding monarchy, the *second* deals with duties of different officers. Then, there is description of civil as well as criminal law and also description of other traditions. In the *fifth division*, there is description of the functions of the employees of the king and in the *sixth division*, we have description of the elements or the Prakritis of the state. In the remaining nine books, we have description of the foreign policy, the relationship with different states, the war craft, the ways and means to sow the seeds of dissensions among the enemies. This is what Dr. A S. Altekar has said in the following lines of 'State and Government in Ancient India' :—

> "It........discusses the old topics with the remarkable thoroughness, referring to the views of the earlier writers and advancing its own theories. The setting of the work is secular. In Dharma Sutra works, Raj Dharma forms but one section. Here, on the other hand, *the study of the state is the main topic*, though the king is expected to master the Vedas and philosophy. After discussing in Book I, the various problems

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70. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal—'A History of Political Ideas'.
71. Dr. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

> connected with the kingship, it gives an exhaustive picture of the administration in Book II. The next two Books deal with the civil, criminal and personal law. The Book V deals with the duties and responsibilities of the courtiers and retainers of the king and the Book VI describes the nature and the functions of the *Seven Prakritis* of the state. Then the work devotes its last nine Books to an exhaustive discussion of the problems connected with the foreign policy, the 'circles' of the kings and the policy to be followed in connection with its different members, the ways and means by which to establish one's ascendancy among them, the occasions suitable for war and peace, the manner in which the welfare was to be carried out or dissensions were to be sown among the enemies etc.'

Machiavelli and Kautilya—The two founders of the two schools of thought, of course, in two different ages, were compared and contrasted by the two western thinkers, namely, *G. D. Bottazzi* and *Prof. Hillybrand*. Machiavelli is said to be the founder of the modern political thought in Europe. He wrote two books, namely, (1) 'Discourses' and (2) 'Prince'. 'Prince' was intended to serve as a manual of administration for the kings and the princes. In this regard, it was like Arthasastra, that was also intended to serve as a manual for the princes and the rulers. Machiavelli has used a deductive method. He has quoted from his predecessors as well. In this regard as well, he was very much similar to *Kautilya*. *Kautilya* in Arthasastra has drawn a lot from his predecessors. He has also referred to them. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "If the quotations from the works of his predecessors given by Kautilya can be taken as representative of their contents, we may well conclude that there was a fairly strong school of politics in India from 500 B. C."[72]

We have also seen that Arthasastra was 'more a manual for the administrator that a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration or of the political science'. This book could in this regard be compared with Machiavelli's '*Prince*'.

Basis of history—Both Kautilya and Machiavelli have based their discourses and discussions on history. Machiavelli was well aware of the political upheaval in Italy. He wanted to see Italy free from the fear of foreign invasion and internal dissensions. He, in fact, wanted to see Italy as a strong state and empire. He saw all this in the history of Rome. So was the case with Kautilya. He wanted to establish a strong empire under the leadership of Chandra Gupta Maurya. The following lines about Machiavelli hold good in many respects about Kautilya as well :—

> "Machiavelli wished to discover how to establish a strong state against foreign oppression and domestic upheaval. He sought his answer in the history of Rome to see there the causes of the decay and the rise of a state to a great power".[73]

Machiavelli' has quoted history to prove his point. Kautilya has also done the same thing. He has given example of 12 kings to prove his point.

Talk about consolidation and expansion of the empire—Both Kautilya and Machiavelli have talked about consolidation and expansion of the empire. Machiavelli in Prince has talked about it in detail. Similarly, Kautilya has talked all about it in detail in Arthasastra. But there is a difference between the

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72. A. S. Altekar—'State and Government in Ancient India'.

73. Phyllisdoyle—'A History of Political Thought'.

two in this respect as well. Kautilya has given a detailed description about the administration of the state. Such a detailed description is not to be found in Machiavelli. In this regard, Kautilya surpasses Machiavelli.

Not much stress on purity of means in state craft—Both Kautilya and Machiavelli were advocates of the consolidation of the state administration. In doing so, they were not very particular about the purity of the means. They advocated the use of 'force and fraud' in order to consolidate the state administration. They held the view that the purity of the means was proved by the ends achieved. According to them, a king could use any means to consolidate the empire.

Extremely patriotic and nationalist—Both Kautilya and Machiavelli were great patriots. They were nationalist to the last core. Both of them wanted to do away with the disintegrating forces and the fissiparous tendencies. They wanted to establish an empire free from dissensions and divisions. They, therefore, pleaded for the consolidation of the state administration at any cost. Both of them have laid great stress on the internal security and security against foreign aggression. This is what we find in the following lines :—

> "In Machiavelli there lay behind all his thought the urge of a burning patriotism which sought passionately for the tolerance of this unhappy motherland, and the picture of Italy that he draws in the closing chapter of 'The Prince' is one of the most moving on record. The aim of Kautilya's state craft, by contrast, was much more limited and selfish for it consisted in ensuring the security and stability of the king's rule inside the kingdom and its progressive advance towards the goal of universal dominion outside the same".[74]

Influence of Kautilya and Machiavelli on the successors—Both these thinkers and founders of certain schools of thought have influenced their successors to a very great extent. According to Prof. Ghoshal, Kautilya influenced his successors in the following three fields :—

1. **Fine analysis of the problems**—In Arthsastra, Kautilya has presented a clear-cut analysis of the problems facing the society. He has, in his book Arthasastra, given a fine analysis of the different aspects of administration, such as foreign policy, elements of the state, crime and punishment, etc.

2. **Quoted by the successors**—Both these writers have been quoted by their successors. Kautilya was quoted by the authors of Smrits, Sastras, and other political thinkers. Similarly, Machiavelli was also quoted by his succeeding political thinkers.

3. **Symbol of a new trend in politics**—Both Kautilya and Machiavelli symbolize a new trend in political thinking. Both these authors have tried to solve the difficult and complicated problems of their day. No doubt at certain places they have become tursed not only in their style, but crude in solution as well. They could not avoid it, because of the complications of theproblems. Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar has rightly said :—

> "Kautilya analyses and solves the many complicated problems, questions facing the government of the day in a most practical and perhaps in a ruthless manner".[75]

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[74] U. N. Ghoshal—'A History of Indian Political Ideas'.

[75] Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar—'Some Aspects of Indian Polity'.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Kautilya is said to be a founder of a school which has its principles in his work entitled Arthasastra.

2. Arthasastra was written sometimes during the Mauryan period or in the fourth century B. C. This book is a manual of the principles of administration.

3. Another thinker as well as a political philosopher who gave a new trend to the modern political thinking in Europe was Machiavelli.

4. His two works 'Discourses' and 'Prince' give directions about the administration of the state.

5. Kautilya and Machiavelli had certain common features. Both of them established two schools and gave practical directions for the administration of the state.

6. Both of them have also talked about consolidation and expansion of the state and empire.

7. Both these thinkers have influenced their successors.

8. This symbolized a new trend in the political philosophy as well as pratical politics.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ASHOKA AND NEHRU

Q. Compares and contrast Ashoka and Nehru ?

Or

Q. "Ashoka and Nehru were the two apostles of peace of two different epochs, yet both of them had common qualities." Discuss this statement.

Ans. Ashoka—Ashoka occupies a unique place in the history of India. He was an epoch making monarch. His contribution to cultural and political history of this country is unprecedented. In many respects, his tenets hold good even today.

Before being crowned as the king, Ashoka was the governor of Taxila and Ujjaini. It was in the year 262 B. C. that he invaded Kalinga, which changed not only his life but also the course of the history. This war of Kalinga cost thousands of lives, hundreds of women were rendered widows and thousands of warriors were killed. This shook the very conscience of Ashoka. He, therefore, gave up the idea of establishing an empire by means of war. Then, he took to conquest of the countries through friendship, peace and message of the Indian culture. That is why, Ashoka is more known for his cause of peace than the cause of war. Even today the emblem of India reminds us of the great contribution that Ashoka made to the cause of peace.

Ashoka and Buddhism—Ashoka accepted Buddhism. He was initiated into Buddhism by Upagupta. It was after the war of Kalinga. This war had caused so much of penetance in his heart that he decided to resort to the conquests of the land through religion and message of culture. He, therefore, made a declaration to the effect that he believed more in piety, kindness, good to others and pardon. His inscriptions bear testimony to the principles of his life and religion.

Criticism of the principles of Ashoka—Dr. Jayaswal did not agree with the idea of conquest by religion. He thought that this policy of Ashoka, actually made people coward. He has, further, added that had he followed the policy of his fore-fathers, he might have established the Mauryan empire in the whole of Asian sub-continent. According to Dr. Jayaswal, Ashoka could not prove himself to be an ideal king. His policy might have brought about the spiritual upliftment, but it did not have any congenial influence on the political atmosphere of the country. It affected adversely the nationalism and the political status of the land.

Dr. Bhandarkar has also supported the view expressed by Dr. Jayaswal. He has said that the small state of Magadh was expanded by Chandra Gupta into a big empire, but Ashoka could neither expand it nor make it politically strange. Had he not taken to the policy of conquest through religion, he might have succeeded in establishing a big empire in this country. In that event, he would have done great service not only to this country but to the whole of Asia. The king who sat on the throne after Ashoka could not consolidate whatever was left by Ashoka, because of the political atmosphere of the country.

Ashoka, in fact, wanted the expansion and propagation of Buddhism. He, therefore, did it through inscriptions and other means. He also sent emissaries to different countries of the world. His own son and daughter went to Ceylon for the propagation of the principles of Buddhism. These things might have held the cause of Buddhism, but, according to Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Jayaswal, it did not serve the purpose of the politics of the country. On account of this policy of Ashoka, India could not establish a Roman empire.

Jawahar Lal Nehru and Ashoka—What has been said about Ashoka is, in many respects, true about Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was the greatest protagonist of world peace in the modern era. It is the misfortune that his ideal of peace had to meet its waterloo at the hands of China, who invaded India at a moment when the slogan of the peace of Jawahar lal Nehru was at its peak. Such a thing may not have happened during the time of Ashoka but it did happen after his death. Foreigners tried to invade India after Ashoka.

In fact, Jawahar Lal Nehru wanted the establishment of world peace. His ideal was very good because it would give relief to the developing and economically backward countries of the world. It was his misfortune that his ideal could not be translated into practice. Jawahar Lal Nehru also like Ashoka believed in the conquest of the people through the message of peace. He believed more in spiritual indoctrination than material annexation It was really a misfortune of Jawahar Lal Nehru that his ideal could not be achieved in his life time.

Nehru, probably, thought Ashoka to be his ideal. It was on account of this conviction that he chose Ashoka Chakra as the incinea on the flag of his country and also selected Ashoka pillar as the national emblem.

Ashoka as well as Nehru thought of establishing the empire of peace, cultural brotherhood and spiritual fraternity. What has been said about Ashoka is, in many respects, true about Nehru also. Had he given his attention to the military strength of this country would have grown militarily strong by leaps and bounds. That might have saved it from the humiliation that it suffered at the hands of the Chinese in 1962. It might have also saved the economic strain country had to face after Chinese aggression followed by the Pakistani aggression. However, the ideals of these two hold good even today and they shall continue to be so.

STATEMENT OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN ASHOKA AND NEHRU

Ashoka	**Nehru**
1. Ashoka was essentially a religious person. He believed in the the propagation of Buddhism. He, therefore, made Buddhism the dharma of the State or the state religion.	1. Nehru was wedded to the ideal of sucularism. He did not believe in mixing politics with religion, yet it does not mean that he was irreligious. He believed in the establishment of a secular state, which was guided by the principles of justice, honesty and well-being of all the persons.

In this respect the two were quite different.

Ashoka	**Nehru**
2 Ashoka was an an emperor. He secured the crown as a hereditary right. He might have been a democrat, but essentially, he was an emperor.	2. Nehru was a great democrat. He derived his status and power from the masses. He was, in fact, doyen of the Indian masses.
3. Ashoka had adopted Buddhism as the philosophy of the life. He was a great idealist and very religious. If Buddhism could go beyond the limits of India, it was only on account of the efforts of Ashoka. Through inscriptions and other means, Ashoka tried to spread Buddhism.	3. Nehru was a democrat and a socialist. He was a progonist of secularism. In fact democracy, secularism and socialism were the main tenets of his philosophy of life. He was also an idealist like Ashoka, but he tried to translate his ideals into actual practice. Nehru wrote several books and through these, he tried to spread his ideas.
4. Ashoka believed in world brotherhood. He was moved by compassion for the entire humanity. It is on account of this that he occupies a place next to Lord Buddha only in the history of Buddhism.	4. Nehru was a great advocate of the ideal of world fraternity. He believed too much in international cooperation. It was on account of this fact that the year after his death was celebrated as the year of International Cooperation by U. N. O. He was a firm believer in making U. N. O. as an effective instrument for the establishment of world peace. He tried his best for the achievement of this ideal.
5. Ashoka was a monarch, althought he was very popular with his subjects.	5. Nehru was an uncrowned king of India. He was the real leader of the masses. It will take several generations to have a leader of his eminence. Congress Party and the government could not go beyond his wishes. In other words, he symbolized the aspirations of the people. If Ashoka gave the message of world peace and

Ashoka	**Nehru**
	world fraternity, Nehru also did not lag behind. His ideals of non-alignment and world peace are very much influenced by the philosophy of Buddhism. 6. The Panch Sheel of Nehru was nothing but modern addition of Buddhist principles. His policy of non-alignment was very much inspired by the ideal of world peace. He, in fact, wanted to steer India clear of the conflict of the two great power blocs of this world.

In short, it may be said that Ashoka and Nehru both were great epoch makers of the world history. Although they belonged to different ages, yet they had many common qualities.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Ashoka was a great emperor of Mauryan dynasty. He gave up arms in order to bring about the conquest of the world through religion.

2. Many of the modern political thinkers, like Dr. K P. Jayaswal and D. R. Bhandarkar, have criticised this policy of Ashoka. They hold the view that Ashoka not resorted to this policy, he could not give to this country a big empire covering the entire Asian continent.

3. Ashoka's policy might have brought about the spiritual upliftment, but it had an adverse effect on the political atmosphere of the country. It brought about degeneration, of the political morale and affected adversely patriotism, nationalism and the desire to integrate the whole of the country.

4. Nehru was, in fact, the modern version of Ashoka. He wanted to establish world peace. In this regard, he was very much influenced by the thinking of Ashoka.

5. Ashoka believed in the principle of World Peace and so did Nehru.

6. Ashoka was most religious and he made Buddhism as the state religion, while Nehru was a secular thinker. He did not want to mix up religion with politics.

7. Nehru believed international co-operation, which was nothing but another form of world brotherhood propagated by Ashoka.

8. Nehru was a democrat while Ashoka was a monarch.

9. Both of them put forward the message of world peace.

10. Although the two belonged to two different periods, yet they had many things common in them.

CHAPTER XXXV

SECRETARIAT AND DEPARTMENTS

Q. Describe briefly the working of the Secretariat and the different departments in the administration of the state in ancient India ?

Or

Q. Were there departments as well as Secretariat in the ancient India, as we find today ? Discuss.

Ans. Secretariat and Departments—In ancient India, the king and his council of ministers occupied the central place in the administrative set-up. They were like the brain centre of the governmental organisation. The brain centre could not act independently without the help of the nerves system and the limbs. In order to provide the brain centre with effective instruments to carry out the administration, Secretariat and departments were created. They were like the nerves system and the limbs of the organism of state administration.

No developed Secretariat—In ancient India, the art of writing had not to have a very developed Secretariat. It did grow with the passage of the time and according to the increase in the functions of the state. What was the real organisation of the Secretariat and what was the number of the Secretaries is not known exactly today. However, it is true that in those days there was a Secretariat.

Organisation of Secretariat according to Arthasastra—'*Kautilya*', in his '*Arthasastra*', has said that in ancient India, the Secretariat had developed into a full-fledged and well developed organisation in the Mauryan period. He has further stated that senior officers of the departments were called *Lekhas* or writers. They were not more clerks but enjoyed the status of the Amatyas. It means that they were inferior only to the ministers. In the modern phraseology, they should be called the secretaries of the departments.

Efficient administration—It was the Secretariat that helped the administration. The administration did not vest in the king or his ministers alone but it was carried out in the name of the king and his ministers by the secretaries who had a lot of experience and possessed a good deal of capacity. These secretaries were expected to possess certain qualifications such as specialization in drafting, education, ability, reliability, etc.

Working of the Secretariat—In ancient India the working of the secretariat was in many respects similar to the working of the secretariat in the modern period. The secretaries were supposed to look into the previous records and take decisions according to the requirements of the situation. These secretaries were Lekhakar and were to work under the ministers or Amatyas. When they had prepared a particular document, it was shown to the ministers concerned who were to work as the heads of the departments. After approval, the king would sign. Signature of the king meant the final approval.

Members of the seventh class—Greek writers have referred to a class of the officers called members of the Seventh Class. They were councillors and assessors. They belonged to the highest position of the government and took active and prominent part in the administration of the public affairs. They were like the specialists of different departments. Although they were less in number, yet they discharged very important functions. Normally, these posts were filled from the senior officers of the secretariat.

Putting orders into black and white—The main job of the secretariat was to record the royal orders and to put them into black and white. During *Sunga, Satavahana* and *Gupta* administration, the secretariat acted in this very manner. Under *Chahmanas* and *Chalukyas*, the secretariat was known as *Srikaran*. In the records of the *Chola dynasty* we find mention of the fact that when king passed an order, all the officers of the department concerned were present. The order was recorded by one secretary and compared and attested by others.

Record office—Today attached to every secretariat there is a huge record office. It was there during ancient period as well. Kings mostly passed verbal orders. These orders. These orders as well as other things, like land grants, transactions, etc. were recorded and put in the record office. Sometimes fee was also prescribed for this job.

The officer incharge of this department was called '*Akkshapatalika*', '*Mohakshapatalika*' or the Inspector General of Records.

Inspection of administrative units—One of the important functions of the secretariat was to inspect the provincial and other smaller administrative units. For this purpose, the king himself as well as other officers went on inspection tours. *Manu* has laid great stress on it and so Sukracharya has recommended annual tours.

Spy system—We have already seen that there was a special department to collect information about the opinion of the people about administrative and other officers of administration. It was the spy department or the intelligence department. We have also seen that Chanakya has given a detailed description of the working of this department.

Under certain dynasties, there were special officers for the purpose.

Administrative officers—Once the orders were passed, they were entrusted to certain administrative officers who were responsible for the implementation of these orders.

Different departments and their working—Apart from the secretariate of the central secretariat, there were different departmenis that carried out the decisions and functions of the Central Government. There was head of each department who was called '*Adhyaksha Mauryan*' in the *Mauryan* period and *Karma Sachiva in the Shaka administration.*

In those days there was not much of distinction between the head of the department and the minister. Sometimes, the head of the department was appointed to the post of ministers. There was no provision for elected representative in ancient India and so the distinction of having permanent officers, and the elected heads of the department, did not exist.

Difference in number of departments in different periods—In different periods of ancient Indian history, there was difference in the number of the administrative departments. In certain periods, there were only four departments, while in others, there were 23 and even more. It is said that during the time of Jalauka, the son of Ashoka, there were 18 departments. In Arthasastra, the number has been laid down in the traditional manner, but Kautilya does not hesitate in increasing the number by five to six, according to requirements. Sukra has fixed this number at 20.

Designation of different departments—Different department had been designated differently in different periods of history. These departments had different functions to discharge. Given below is a number of description of the different department and their working.

Royal household department—In ancient India, essentially there was monarchy and so the security, upkeep and administration of the affairs of the place was considered to be most important job. Really speaking, the entire attention of the people was concentrated on the royal palace. There was a special arrangement for palace guards or bodyguards. There were cooks for the royal kitchen as well as physicians. There was an astrologer who used to guide the king on different occasions. Apart from these officers, there were also literary figures. These literary figures, on the one hand, adorned the court and, on the other, advised the king on several matters.

The administration of the harem or the abode of the queens was looked after by a special officer. He was known as Kanchukin. Normally, this officer enjoyed great confidence of the king.

Military department—This was the most important department of administration. Normally, fifty per cent of the state revenue was spent on this department. It was natural in those days. It was like the military set-up of the modern times. This department had several branches and sub-departments. Different branches of the military and army were looked after by different departments. The organisation of the cantonments was the responsibility of a particular department. Similarly, the responsibility for the treatment of the army men was the responsibility of another branch of this department.

The responsibility of the forts was also entrusted to a particular department. These departments work in close-co-operation and co-ordination with each other.

The department of foreign affairs—Since ancient days, Indian kings have have been having relations with people of other countries. It was, therefore, natural to have a sub-department of foreign affairs. Its head was a minister called Mahasandhivigrahika. It was under this department that ambassadors or dootas worked.

Revenue department—It was also under the charge of a minister. There were other superintendents who helped the ministers to discharge these functions. These superintendents looked after different aspects of this department. They looked after the government lands, the animal wealth, collection of taxes, and such other jobs.

Treasury—Treasury department was responsible for the safe custody of the funds of the king. This department had a large number of store houses, because in those days revenue was collected not only in cash but in kind as well. There were different officers incharge for different activities of this department Normally, the functions of this department were as follows :—

1. Keeping the bullion in safe custody.
2. Collecting the corns, fuel, etc. and stocking them in a safe place.
3. Allocation of annual revenue and special reserve fund.

The head of this department was Koshthagaradhyaksha.

Department of industry and commerce—In ancient India, this department also carried out important functions. Its main function was to supervise and carry on activities in connection with the industry and commerce. It had several officers. In those days weaving industry or cloth industry was most popular and so the main task of this department was concentrated on cloth industry. Normally, it carried out the following functions :—

1. Carrying out industries.
2. Supervising the working of the industries established by private individuals.

3. To safeguard the interests of the workers.

Deparment for the control of the prostitutes—In those days, there was a department that controlled the prostitution. The head of this department was called Ganikadhyaksha. Prostitutes could not go beyond the prescribed limits.

Superintendent of slaughter houses—These were, in bigger states, certain slaughter houses as well. These slaughter houses were supervised and looked after by a superintendent.

Department of mines and metallurgy—In ancient India, the state had interest in mines and other kinds of mineral wealth. In order to protect this interest of the state, a special department for the purpose was created.

Licensing department—Licences were issued by the state for discharge of certain functions like blacksmithy, goldsmithy, manufacturing of ornaments.

Since the state had interest in several things pertaining to commerce and trade, there were superintendents who were expected to regulate the activities of commerce and trade. They were also supposed to realise the taxes and such other things.

Toll tax department—Certain things were subject to toll tax. These articles were brought within a certain area for being sold. There was a department that was expected to collect taxes on these articles.

Judicial department—We have already talked about the judicial administration in ancient India. It has been dealt within a separate chapter. Here it would be sufficient to say that in those days this department occupied a very important place. It was the king who was the fountain of justice and the justice was administered in his name.

Police department—In ancient India, also there was a department responsible for maintainance of law and order. It was this department that checked thefts and other crimes. In those days, dacoities and such other crimes were quite uncommon ; even then this department was there.

Ecclesiastical department—The Purohit or the priest was the head of this department. It was a very important department, because in those days religion occupied a very important place. This department had several officers under it. These officers, on the one hand, brought about the spirit of learning, and on the other, also tried to consolidate and propagate the religious principles.

Pays and salaries of different dignitaries and officers—Different dignitaries and officers received salary and pay according to their status. Arthasastra gives a detailed description about all these things. The following lines throw ample light on this aspect :—

> "The queens, the crown-prince and the important ministers like the commander-in-chief received 48,000 Panas a year ; the chamberlain, the treasurer and revenue minister received 24,000 ; ordinary members of the ministry and wardens of the marches, 12,000 ; superintendents of horses, chariots and elephants, 8,000 Panas ; army doctor and horse trainers 2,000 etc. It is difficult to state whether the Panas were silver or copper coins. The salaries must have varied with the size and resources of the state also, as is clear from a scheme given in the Sukraniti, under which in a state of the income of a lakh a year all ministers put together received only 300 a month. Probably 300 here refers to silver coins worth equal to modern six annas (IV, 7 24). Even then the pay of the minister would be rather small".

Recruitment of officers—Officers of different departments were recruited in different ways. For technical posts, people possessing technical qualifications and knowledge were recruited. For the posts of responsibility, birth and high connections were taken into account. Different considerations weighed in appointment of different categories of officers.

There were different categories of officers. Those responsible for central administration enjoyed higher status while those responsible for provincial administration did not enjoy that status. The following lines present a correct picture of this situation :—

> "Officers of the status of provincial and subordinate grades of the modern time were probably recruited from local areas ; means of transport being slow and unsatisfactory, their transfers could not have been common. The system of paying these officers by the assignment of lands or of government revenues must have made many of these posts hereditary".

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, for the efficiency of administration, there was a central secretariat. There were secretaries for different departments who were inferior to the minister only.

2. These secretaries were expected to possess specialized qualifications.

3. Attached to every secretariat, there was a record office. The head of this record office was an important officer.

4. In those days, a record office enjoyed a very important place, because most of the orders of the king were passed verbally. They had to be put into black and white by the officers of this department.

5. The king and the ministers as well as the secretaries were expected to go on annual tours in order to collect information about the conditions of the people.

6. There were different officers responsible for execution of the decisions taken by the secretariat and the government.

7. Along with the secretariat, there were different departments. These departments were responsible for different aspects of administration. Normally, the following departments were found in different periods of ancient Indian history.

(*a*) **The Department of Royal Household**—This department was responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the royal palace and the paraphernalia attached to it.

(*b*) **The Military Department**—This department looked after the forces of the state. This had several sub-departments and branches connected with it.

(*c*) **The Department of Foreign Affairs**—It was like the department of external affairs of the modern times.

(*d*) **The Revenue Department**—This department was responsible for the collection of revenue and taxes

(*e*) **The Department of Treasure and Finances**—This department was charged with the responsibility of safe custody of the funds and taxes realised.

(*f*) There was a *Licensing Department* that issued licences to people of different trades.

(*g*) **The department of Commerce and Industry**—This department looked after the trade, commerce and the industrial activities of the state.

(*h*) There was also a *Toll Tax Department*.

(*i*) *Judicial Department* administered justice in an elaborate manner.

(*j*) *The Police Department was responsible* for maintenance of law and order.

(*k*) *Ecclesiastical Department* was charged with the responsibility of the spirit of learning as well as religious principles.

8 Different departments had a number of officers attached to it. These officers received different amount as salaries.

9 The officers were recruited either on the basis of qualifications required for the post or the worth and the connections.

10. There were different categories of officers according to their administrative responsibilities.

CHAPTER XXXVI

DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF ADMINISTRATION—PROVINCIAL, DIVISIONAL, DISTRICT AND TOWN ADMINISTRATION

Q. Describe briefly the different divisions of administration in ancient India ?

Or

Q. Write short notes on the following :—

- (*a*) **Provincial administration.**
- (*b*) **Divisional administration**
- (*c*) **District administration.**
- (*d*) **Town administration.**

Ans. **Division of administration**—In ancient India, the administration was divided under different heads. These heads were based on religion or territorial jurisdiction. Since it was not possible to carry out the administration of the whole country from one place, the administration was split up into smaller units. Normally, these units were divided under the following heads :—

- (*a*) Provincial administration.
- (*b*) Divisional administration.
- (*c*) District administration.
- (*d*) Town administration.
- (*e*) Village administration.

We have talked about the village administration in a separate chapter. Here we shall confine ourselves to the remaining four division of administration.

No uniformity in the division of administration—In ancient India, there was no uniformity in the division of administration. It only means that in ancient India the division of the administration under different heads was not the same in different period and in different ages. Big empires like that of the Mauryan period, were divided into smaller units as the federation of India is divided. The big division was the province while the smallest one was the village. The division of the administration differed from north to south. It is not possible to have a precise statement of the divisions. Dr. A. S. Altekar has rightly remarked :—

"It would, therefore, be dangerous to draw a precise and prima facie conclusion about the extent of an administrative division merely from its name."

Provincial government or provincial administration—In ancient India, big kingdoms were divided into smaller administrative units. The biggest unit of administration was called a province. The Mauryan empire was divided into five big provinces. It is quite possible that there provinces may also have been divided into smaller units. What we find in Mauryan period was also to be found in Gupta period. This practice of dividing the whole of the empire into different provinces continued in different times. This is true even today.

Head of the provincial administration—Normally, the head of the provincial administration was a Governor Generally princes and people belonging to the royal blood were appointed to this post. Ashoka himself had been the governor of Taxila and Ujjaini Sometimes even trusted officers of the empire were appointed to these posts. Military generals also occupied these posts. They were like the viceroys of the king.

Ministers and courts—The provincial governors or viceroys had their own ministers or courts. They carried out the provincial administration with the help of these advisers. The advisers had to play a vital role in the administration. They were heads of different departments. The following lines throw light on the responsibility of the provincial administration :—

> "Besides maintaining law and order and supervising revenue collection, the viceroys had to take steps for developing the resources of their provinces by constructing and repairing works of public utility like irrigation tanks and canals and to strengthen the foundation of the empire by ensuring good government and promoting public confidence. Almost all the departments mentioned in the last chapter, that existed at the imperial capital, must have had their replicas in the provincial head-quarters."

Divisional administration—Today different states of the Indian Union have been divided into divisions or commissioners' divisions. Each division is under the charge of a commissioner and, normally, comprises of four to six districts. In ancient India also, there was a divisions of this nature. Such a division was called Bhukti under Guptas; Pratihara, Rashtri under Rashtrakutas and Mandal in Chola and Chalukyas.

Head of the divisional administration—In the Mauryan period, Rajjukas ruled over these divisions. They were like divisional commissioners of today.

Council of Rajjukas—The head of the provincial administration had a council of his own. The same thing could not be said about the head of the divisional administration. Some heads of the divisional administration had a council of the ministers and they sought their advice and help. But, probably, all of them did not have such a council.

Powers and functions of the divisional commissioners or Rajjukas or Heads of the divisions administration—The heads of the divisional administration had several officers under them. They had extensive powers over these subordinate officers. They had a military force under them as well. When needed by the king, they would put the divisional force at the disposal of the king, so that campaign could be successful carried out.

Apart from these functions, the divisional commissioners had the following powers as well :—

(*a*) **They were the head of the revenue administration**—It means that they were responsible for collection of revenue. There was a force of the officers to assist them in this task.

(*b*) **Judicial powers**—Divisional commissioners head certain judicial powers. They administered justice also.

(*c*) **Administrative powers**—These divisional commissioners, as we have already seen, had vast and extensive administrative powers. They could appoint the officers and also take action against them.

These officers carried out the administration of their division according to the instructions from the central authority.

District administration—Bhuktis or divisions were subdivided into Vishais. They were like the districts of the modern times. Normally 1000 to 2000 villages were included in this district.

Head of the district administration—Vishapati or the Vishapate was the head of this administration. He had several officers under him.

Powers and functions of the district administration—Vishapati or the head of the district administration was like the collector or the district magistrate of the present times. He had the following powers and functions :—

(*a*) Maintenance of law and order.

(*b*) Supervision of the collection of government taxes and revenue.

Subordinate officers—The district magistrate or the head of the district administration had several subordinate officers under him. These officers carried out different functions.

Military force—Since every head of the district administration had to maintain law and order, he was head of military force stationed at his district.

Popular element in district administration or district council—In the administration of the district, the popular element or the elected representatives of the people played a vital role. There was representatives of different classes of people who helped the Vishaipati to carry out his administration. This was very much to be found in the Gupta period. There is no definite record about the presence of the council of ministers in different periods. However, this element was there. The following passage about the district administration in the Gupta period throws ample light on the district administration in ancient India :—

> "The district administration was well organised in the Gupta period. It has its own Records Office in charge of a pustapala (record keeper), who kept accurate records of the dimensions and ownership of not only cultivated but also the waste lands, and also of house sites in towns and villages. Even when waste lands, the ownership of which was vested in the state, were to be sold, the sanction of the popular council was necessary. Some of the land-grant charters even bear the seals of the district administration. Sealings of the district administrations of Rajagariha and Gaya were found at Nalanda, showing that their communications to outsiders bore the impress of their official seals. All business was transacted methodically.; even when the Vishyapati himself wanted to purchase some waste lands in order to gift it for religious purposes, he had to appear before the council and take its permission."

Sub-divisional administration—Today districts have been divided into sub-divisions. There is a sub-divisional officer incharge of his division of administration. This was true of the administration in ancient India as well. Normally, a sub-division in those days consisted of about 100 to 1000 villages. There were tahsils and tahsildars as well. There were tahsildars and subdivisional officers incharge of these divisions of administration.

Popular element—There were also councils attached to the head of the divisional administration. These councils advised the head in the matters of administration and the governmental work.

Town administration—In ancient India also, the country was divided into villages and towns. The towns were administrated in a way different from the villages. The town administration differed from age to age of the history.

The head of the town administration—The town administration in ancient India differed from age to age. They were autonomous administrarative units in many respects. The head of the town administration was called Purpal or the governor. He was assisted in his work by a committee of non-officials called Goshti or Panchakula or Chukadika. This committee consisted of the representatives of different interests in the town. This committee consisted of persons from five to ten as members. This number also differed from time to time, and according to the need.

Other subordinate officers—Purpal or the committee was assisted in their work by a set of subordinate officers. These officers discharged different functions about collection of revenue, maintenance of law and order and other matters.

In short, it may be said that administration of the town in ancient India was very well organised on scientific lines.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, the whole of the empire was divided into different administrative units.

2. The biggest administrative unit was called the provincial administration.

3. The head of the provincial administration was a viceroy or the governor who was the representative of the king or emperor.

4. Normally, people of the royal blood were appointed to this post.

5. There was a council of ministers attached to the governor. This council advised and helped them in the administrative jobs.

6. There was a set of officers under the governor that helped him in the discharge of his functions.

7. The provincial administration was divided into divisions.

8. The head of the divisional administration was like the divisional commissioner of the present times. He was called Rajjuka.

9. These divisional commissioners had also popular representatives as their advisers.

10. Divisional commissioners had to maintain law and other and, therefore, they had an army with them.

11. The divisional administration was divided into district units.

12. Each district unit was under the charge of an officer called Vishapati.

13. There was a popular council attached to the Vishaipatis in different ages of history.

14. These Vishaipatis were the administrative officers and they had different officers under them.

15. The district administration was divided into sub-divisions. Sub-divisional officers were incharge of the administration of their division. Normally, 100 to 1000 villages were under the charge of one sub-divisional officer.

16. A sub-division was divided into different tahsils.

17. Towns were administered by a governor, who was known as Purpal. He was assisted in his work by a council of the representatives of different

interests of the town. In other words, it may be said that the administration of the town was a combination of the official as well as non-official agencies.

18. In ancient India, there was division of administration and decentralization and the town administration was carried out in a scientific manner.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FRANCHISE AND CITIZENSHIP

Q. Describe briefly the system of franchise and citizenship in ancient India ? *Or*

Q. Write a short essay on 'Franchise and Citizenship in Ancient India' ?.

Ans. Franchise—In ancient India also, there was the question of 'franchise' or the right to vote. This question was very much apparent in the republics. In the republics, the head was elected through franchise or voting. There were different qualifications for voting. It means that in ancient India, the right of franchise was based on certain qualifications. It is true even today. The qualifications have changed, but the basic fact remains that qualifications are needed and required.

Basis of franchise or right of voting—In ancient India, the basis of franchise was the *family, i. e. the Hindu family.* The following lines clarify this basis :—

> "This is implied by the Mahabharat when it says that there is equality in the Gana by family (kula) and by birth (jati). Equality by birth and family made up the constitutional equality inside the Hindu republic. Every free man in a Samgha was equal by his birth and every family was equal, for political purposes. A passage in the Pali Canon also takes the Kula as the basis of franchise. The Buddha preaching to the sons of the Lichchavis says that high careers open to a Kula-putta or cadet of a family were these : he might become consecrated to rulership, might become a Rashtrika, or Pettenika, or the Generalissimo, or the President of a Township (gamagamanika), or the President of an Industrial Guild (pugagamanika). It is meant that all these offices were elective and a Kula-putta was eligible to all these in a Gana-state. A sixth career is added and it is with regard to a Kula-state which we have already noticed above : 'Supreme rulership (over other rulers) by turns.' Katyayana the law-giver says that gana is the assembly of Kulas. Kula of family was thus the basis of political right and power in aristocracies and in aristocratic democracies."[76]

Difference between the basis of franchise in Indian republics and the Greek republics—In certain republics, the birth was the basis of franchise. In certain other republics, which the Greeks have called democracies, it could not have been the rule. In those democracies, everybody was equal. In such democracies, it was the personal qualities or ability that formed the basis of franchise. It shall be further evident from the following lines :—

> "But it could not have been the rule in what the Greeks called democracies. There everybody was equal by birth. Birth alone must have been the basis of franchise in constitutions like that of the Kathas and the Saubhutas, where even the selection of the 'king' depended upon personal qualification and on the attached any regard to the family, and where

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[76] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

the culture of the individual himself was the prime consideration of the State. We find in the Sakya Parliament both young and old assembled; in the Vrishni Samgha, father, son, and younger brother (Krishna, Pradyumna, Grda) all possessing franchise".[77]

Process of naturalisation—In modern democracies, there is provision for the naturalisation. In other words, it means that foreigners could also, after fulfilling certain conditions, become citizens of a particular country. It means that franchise was granted to foreigners as well in those days. In ancient India, certain rules were changed in order to accomodate certain foreigners to the fold of the voters. The history of ancient India corraborates this point. People of Vriji were granted franchise. According to Dr. Jayaswal, "It is thus evident that the republics extended citizenship to outsiders. This will explain the enormous territorial growth of the Malwas and the Yaudheyas, who covered vast expanses of lands in early and later centuries."

Political allegiance as the basis of franchise—In ancient India, franchise was based on political allegiance. If a person owed allegiance to a particular political party or set up, he was granted franchise. In ancient India, therefore, the term Bhakt has been used in this very sense by Panini and others.

In short, it means that in ancient India, there was a definite rule about franchise and the right of voting.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, there was a system of granting voting right.
2. This voting right was based on family or birth. But in certain republics, everybody was granted the voting right.
3. In Indian democracies all the citizens were granted voting right.
4. Foreigners were also granted voting right after fulfilling certain conditions.
5. In short, in ancient India the voting right was a powerful instrument of public opinion.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PUBLIC OPINION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Write a short essay on public opinion in ancient India ?

Or

Q. What was the position of public opinion in the administrative set-up of ancient India ?

Ans. Public opinion and its importance—Public opinion has a great importance in a democratic set-up. It acts as a check of the administration. In fact, it checks it from going astray and becoming despotic. If there is no public opinion, it is quite possible that the administration may go wrong.

This public opinion had its place in the political set-up of ancient India as well. In those days, public opinion was given due importance.

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[77] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

Difference between the public opinion of today and public opinion of ancient India - There is difference between the public opinion of the modern times and the public opinion in ancient India. Today opinion of every citizen or, in other words, every men in the street is as important as that of the most learned men of the country. It means that the opinion of an ordinary citizen as well as a university professor is of equal importance. It was not so. In ancient India, it was the opinion of a specialized class that mattered. It was up to this class of the people to reflect the interests of the general public. This class generally consisted of the hermits and recluses and learned Brahmanas as well as others.

Opinion of the hermits and recluses—Hermits and recluses were held in high esteem in ancient India. They were considered to be the representatives of the whole Aryan society. In fact, they were an important political factor in Hindu life. On the other hand, these people tried to keep themselves up-to-date about all the social and political developments. The following lines represent the situation nicely :—

> "Hindu hermits though in retirement, were not absolutely out of touch with the community and the world of politics. They with their wisdom and impartiality, could take a correct view of a difficulty in administration and could advise the king thereon, without reserve or fear."

Representatives of morality and the values of the society—These hermits and recluses were considered to be the representatives of the values of the society as well as morality. Narad was such a recluse. It is said that he advised Krishna on the difficulties in his republics. Lord Buddha was another such saint who had advised Ajatushatru. Greek writers and others have also referred to the presence of such hermits and recluses who were there at that time as well. In Arthasastra and Mahabaharat, it has been enjoined as a duty on the king to consult these people :—

> "In the *Arthasastra* the king is told that bad government offends with ascetics and recluses. The *Mahabharat* in its book on politics enjoins upon the king to inform hermits of the affairs of the state and to take counsel from one whose experience was large and whose original family was distinguished and who was now selfless."[78]

Opinion of learned Brahmanas—The learned Brahmanas were also held in high esteem in Hindu society. They were expected to guide the affairs of the state. In fact, this institution of learned Brahmanas was responsible for the development of the saciety as well as knowledge in ancient India. This class was considered to be a selfless class devoted to the cause of religion, learning and social good. They were also expected to bring about intellectual excellence. Although these Brahmanas lived outside in the society and in poverty, but they kept themselves abreast of all political developments. They, therefore, guided the affairs of the state and their opinion was a great significance for proper administration of the state. The following lines speak about it more clearly :—

> "The Brahmana of poverty living inside society and state, with his little home and his fire altar, was probably more mindful of correct politics than any one else. In the Jatakas the Brahmana versed equally in *dharma* and *arth*, sacred knowledge and science of politics, is a constant figure. Vasishtha and Vamadeo in the national epics typified the figures who would turn up at the court and advise the king about weaknesses in his administration."[79]

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[78] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

[79] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity'.

Brahaspati, Vasishtha, Kautilya and others were no one but the learned Brahmanas who tried their level best to bring about material and spiritual happiness to the society.

General public opinion—King were also expected to keep an eye on the public opinion. Kautilya in Arthasastra has laid great stress on this. His spy system was nothing but a way to find out the public opinion. This thing has also been said in Shantiparva of Mahabharat as follows :—

> "The King should make secret and trusted agents travel through the kingdom for ascertaining whether his conduct of the previous day has, or has not met with the approbation of the subjects.
>
> "Ascertain whether my conduct is or is not approved, what action of mine in the country is agreeable and what reputation do I have in the realm."

King had to listen to public clamour—It has been laid down in different works of polity that the king should listen to the public clamour. It was this public clamour that forced Rama to leave his queen Sita, although he was personally convinced of her purity and innocence. Brahaspati had gone to the extent of suggesting that if people raise a voice against a particular thing, it should be given up even if it is not bad.

धर्ममपि लोकविष्कुष्टं न कुर्यात् ।

In short, it may be said that in ancient India public opinion played a vital role in the administration of the state.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Public opinion exercised a check on administration. Because of public opinion, the administration could not go astray.

2. There is difference between the public opinion of today and the public opinion of ancient India.

3. In ancient India, the public opinion or certain specialists was valued more than the opinion of the ordinary people.

4. In ancient India, the opinion of the hermits and the recluses was given a lot of importance.

5. They were supposed to be impartial judges of the society.

6. Like the hermits and recluses, the opinion of the learned Brahmanas was also valued very much. They were supposed to be the custodians of the. welfare of the people.

7. Apart from the opinion of these special class of people, the opinion of general public was also given due respect and importance.

8. Some of the writers on Hindu Polity have gone to the extent of suggesting that if public opinion went against a thing, it should be given up even if it was not bad. This is what Rama did.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ECONOMICS IN GOVERNMENT AND THEORY ABOUT OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Q. Write a short essay on economics in government and the theory of ownership of land ?

Or

Q. What were the principles of economics that governed the policy of the government in regard to taxation and what was the theory of the ownership of land ?

Ans. Basic principles of economics—In ancient India, the rulers were given certain lessons about economics. The lesson told them to do certain things. These lines were those that, according to the thinkers of ancient India, helped the consolidation of the social order. These principles included the following :—

(*a*) "Agriculture, cattle-culture, and commerce and trade comprise the Science (vidya) of Varta Success in that leads through Exchequer and Army to the control of one's own state as well as one's enemies."

(*b*) "In Economics lies politics as well as the reverse of politics."

(*c*) "By economics the whole (body politic) is held."

(*d*) "Varta is the shelter of society."

Policy towards agriculture—In ancient India, great stress was laid on agriculture It was considered to be the main source of national wealth. It has, therefore, been laid down in books of ancient Indian Polity that agriculturists were to be protected specially.

Economics enemies—Books on ancient India have enumerated the following as economic enemies :—

(*a*) Public women.

(*b*) Gambling establishments and gamblers.

(*c*) Theatricals and similar parasites.

(*d*) Beggars.

(*e*) Burglers.

(*f*) Userers.

Policy towards the business-class or merchants—It has been laid down in books of polity of ancient India that special attention should be paid to the merchants or the business class. The following lines corroborates this point further :—

> "The power of production in the merchants should be always encouraged. They make the Realm strong, enhance agriculture, and develop its trade. A wise king should be favourable to them in a studied manner……".

> "There is no greater wealth in a kingdom than its merchants."

> Again, "the king should always honour those who have earned wealth. He should give them feasts, drinks, and robes of honour. In every realm the wealthy form an estate (anga-limb)."

Policy towards industries—The state was expected to have its own department for putting up and encouraging the industries. According to political thinkers of ancient India, it helped the country to face war and other difficult position.

Indirect taxation—In ancient India, direct taxation was disliked. The basic principle of taxation in ancient India was indirect. It was a very sound principle.

Policy towards mines—Mines in ancient India were considered to be the property of the State. It was, therefore, proper for the State to levy heavy taxes on these mines.

Hindu theory about the proprietorship of land—There has been some difference of opinion about the proprietorship of the land. Some of the thinkers have said that land vested in the sovereign while the others said that it vested in the individuals. Katyayana has pressed his opinion in the following manner :—

> "When the king is called the Svamin (master of the land) and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not (that he is master) in any other way. The mastership which is connected with him is on account of population thereof by living-beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad".

From the above, it has been concluded that land belonged to the king. On the basis of the inscriptions, it has also been established that the kings granted permission to individuals to use land. Dr Vincent Smith has also corroborated this view in his early history of India :—

> "The native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property".

View of Arthasastra—In Arthasastra, the king has been called the protector of the land. He could not use the land as he liked.

In other words, it means that in Ancient India, land belonged to the society and the individual could use it for the benefit of the society. He could, of course, use it in any manner as he thought proper.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In Ancient India, the king was given certain lessons in economics. These lessons were helpful for the consolidation of the economic condition of the society.

2. In Ancient India, the king was supposed to provide special protection to the agriculture and agriculturists.

3. Business class was also to be protected and given encouragement, but taxed reasonably.

4. In Ancient India, the State was expected to have its own department of industry. It was done in order to keep the economic condition of the country strong.

5. Mines were considered to be the property of the nation, but they were to be taxed by those who drew the mineral wealth.

6. In Ancient India, indirect taxation was in vogue.

7. Land in Ancient India belonged to the king or the society. The individual used it in the interest of the society.

CHAPTER XL

ESTIMATE OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Q. Write a short essay on the estimate of Ancient Indian Polity ?

Or

Q. Give a general estimate of the development and importance of the Ancient Indian Polity ?

Ans. Ancient Indian Polity—Ancient Indian Polity has developed through ages. It took new turn according to new political circumstances and situations. It also took turn according to the requirements of the society. It also took new turn according to the types of the State.

Types of States and the development of Polity—In Ancient India, there were different types of State like Republics, Oligarchies, Monarchies, Diarchies, etc. There were empires as well as small states. Polity developed according to the requirements of these states. In Ancient India also there were no democracy and republics from the Government and so the feature of these Governments are not to be found very much in the books of Ancient Indian Polity.

Caste base society and Hindu Polity—In Ancient India caste system has been accepted as important aspect of the society. There was a special class of 'Chhatriyas' that ruled the country. Indian Polity is very much governed by this fact.

Republic and their disappearance—In Ancient India, there were republics but these republics did not last long. They disappeared very soon. These republics had the special features of republics of different classes of people. This fact is reflected in the polity.

Element of heredity—By and by, the element of heredity found a place in the Ancient Indian administration. It became a practice for the son to assume the range of Government in place of the father. In other words, heredity became the rule of the Government. This fact is also very well reflected in Ancient Indian Polity.

Weaknesses of the Republics and the development of the Monarchy—Republics suffered from several weaknesses. Members of the Assembly of the Republics quarelled among themselves, The decisions could not be kept secret and so very soon Monarchy finished these republics. This fact has also influenced the course of the development of polity in Ancient India.

Monarchy—In Ancient India after the disappearance of the republics, Monarchy came to the existence as the most successful and important part of the Government. The King was considered to be the representative of the God. The element of divinity was attached to the King, although the King was considered to be the representative of the God, yet he was expected to be alive to the needs of his subject and to the society. In other words, the King was trustee. This was the ideal situation but this ideal situation was flouted several times by several Kings.

Element of Secularism and Constitutional Checks—The States were theocratic. The element of secularism had not developed fully. There were also no constitutional checks on the power of the King. Due to these factors, the

King became a despot. In the books of Polity the masses have been allowed to the right to migrate and masses from country ruled by a cruel ruler and also to revolt against him, but these things rarely happened.

Lack of Popular Control—In Vedic times and some years after Vedic period, there was control of the Republics of the people over the machinery of the Government. Thus country grew weak with the passage of the time.

Polity in the medieval period—Hindu Polity did grow during the medieval period as well as in the modern period. During *Shivaji's* regime certain authors gave their work on polity. So did others, during the Muslim Rule. After India's independence there has been a change with integration of the Indian States and certain new trends have also been seen. All these things indicate a new development in the field of Indian Polity.

Decentralization of Power—In Ancient India, there were republics as well as monarchies. Due to these two forms of Government there was decentralization of power as well as centralization of power. During the time of Ashok there were more centralization of power but even in those days village, town and district administration enjoyed a good deal of decentralization of power. In Ancient India, the village administration occupied an important place. There were village councils and elected representatives at their own states. These village councils or Panchayats enjoyed a good deal of judicial powers. These judicial powers were not limited of civil matters and criminal matters were also dealt with by them. The present Panchayat system owned some of the things of the past, although it has not been able to clear all these qualities. In books on Polity all these things are included and they find place there.

Fear of God—Ancient Indian society was God fearing society. There was very much consideration of faith in God Those who did wrong, were to suffer while those who did right were to receive blessings of God. Most of the things were done in the name of God. This factor influenced a good deal in the development of the Ancient Indian Polity.

Principles of Taxation—In Ancient India, there was a scientifically planned system of taxation The underlying principles were quite economical and proper. In the books on Polity, there is detailed description of the principles and other matters regarding taxation. This taxation included the charity as well. That was to be undertaken for the welfare of the society. That class or those classes that did not have sufficient income were exempted from taxes This was a sound principle.

Taxes were determined by customs and traditions—Those customs and traditions have been evolved in the interest of the society.

Preservance of law and order—According to Ancient Indian political thinkers, state was looked after to maintain law and order. It was merely tax gathering corporation. 'Social welfare' was an important concern of the State's machinery.

Mixed Economy—Ancient Indian political thinkers have laid stress on mixed economy. They neither believed in capitalism nor in socialism. They wanted the business men as well as general public to live in harmony. In other words, they believed in co-existence of socialism as well as capitalism. This thing has been very well described in the works of Ancient Indian polity.

Ideals of the Ancient Indian State—Political thinkers of Ancient India have put forward high ideals for the State. The State was expected to 'promote the moral material aesthetics and spiritual progress of the whole community'. These ideals changed from time to time according to the requirements of the

Society. The main object of the social welfare did not go away from the minds of these people.

Varanasbrama Dharma—In Ancient India the society was divided into four classes on the basis of functions. Similarly the life of the people was divided into four periods according to the duties of the persons as a member of the society. Former was called Varna while the latter was called Ashrama. They were combined together and was termed as Varnasbrama. This was very much the ideal to be preserved by the State and the Society. In those days, people had a faith in the doctrine of *Karma*. They were guided by the principle. It had its effect on the State and the rulers as well

Equality of all citizens before law—In Ancient India although the basic principle of equality of all citizens before law was very much in vogue but in political life a distinction was made between different classes of citizens. In some book it has been laid down that persons who have greater knowledge of the society and higher education should be given to all.

All-India State—Ancient Indian Political thinkers have laid stress on the ideal of All-India State under one ruler. Normally these are monarch or emperor. In books of polity, these ideals have been properly dealt with. Although the thinkers have laid stress on expansion of the empire but they have also laid stress on the preservation of the local autonomy, culture and institutions. They have pleased again annihilation of the culture and the individuality of the conquered states.

Since the ancient political thinkers have laid great stress on all India state they have also talked about a centralized government.

Influence of ancient Indian polity on modern thinking—The course of events in Ancient India has influenced the modern polity. In our constitution we find this influence as well. No doubt our constitution has been influenced by modern theories. If India is to remain integrated and it is not to get disintegrated then the centre has to be strong. The Union Government has also to strengthen the forces of the country so that its borders may by saved.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Ancient Indian Polity was very much governed by the conditions and the circumstances that produced it. It took new trends according to new developments.

2. In Ancient India there was different types of Government such as monarchies, republics, diarchies, etc.

3. Monarchy was considered to be the most scientific government in ancient India.

4. In Ancient India caste played a vital role and its influence is found even on polity.

5. There were republics in ancient India, but they did not last long.

6. In Ancient India heredity acquired the most important method of getting place on the throne.

7. Monarchy developed due to the weaknesses of the republics.

8. An Ancient Indian polity was very much influenced by religion. There were certain other checks as well that affected the course of the Indian polity.

9. In Ancient India there was dearth of popular control.

10. Ancient polity did grow during the medieval period.

11. With the independence of India, a change has taken place in the field of polity. There has been a new trend,

12. There was decentralization of power in ancient India as well in the modern set-up.

13. Even during the rule of the Mauryan and Guptas the village and the town institution enjoyed a good deal of powers.

14. Fear of God did exercise a good deal of check on the development of the State and its administrative machinery.

15. In ancient India, there was a scientific system of taxation. State in ancient India was also responsible for the preservation of law and order. Social welfare was an important element of the State.

16. Ancient Indians believed in mixed economy. They were neither capitalist nor fully socialists. In ancient India the state was responsible for the overall development of the personality of the individuals. It was also responsible for the development of the society.

17. Ancient Indian polity has been very much influenced by Varnashrama Dharma.

18. In Ancient India all the citizens were treated as equals before the law. In certain aspects there were distinction but this distinction was not very much to be seen in day to day life.

19. Ancient Indian polity has put forward a plea of all Indian state. In other words they believed in the establishment of an empire.

20. The ancient Indian polity has influenced the modern polity to some extent in certain respect, and to a very great extent in other respect. It is quite natural.

CHAPTER XLI

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Or

SLAVE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Write a short essay on 'slavery in ancient India'?

Or

Q. Is it a fact that slave system was also prevalent in ancient India? Discuss.

Ans. Slavery—Man is by nature fond of exercising control over others. He likes to dominate not only over individuals but also over groups of individuals. This desire to dominate and control led to an evil social custom known as slavery. In this institution, certain individuals, men as well as women, were treated as commodities and chattels by others. Those who treated them like were the masters or owners.

Slavery and old story of human civilization—In almost all developed civilization of the world we find that there was a system of slavery. There was slavery in Egypt, Greece, Babilonia as well as in India.

History of slavery—Slavery dates back to pre-historic times and even stone age. This system has developed a lot as shall be evident from its different branches, types, classes, etc. There were different varieties of slaves. This system continued up to the nineteenth century and was done away with through legislation in European, American and African countries, but in India it vanished all by itself.

History of slavery in India—The institution of slavery in India is not so old as is the case with the old civilizations of Africa and Europe. In the ancient literature of Babilonia, Egypt and Sumeria, there were different types of slaves, but slaves were not to be found in the pre-Vedic times. In Europe and America, it continued unabated till the middle of nineteenth century. It was in the year 1843 that an Act was passed prohibiting this institution.

What is slavery—In India the 'slave' or 'das' is synonymous of the Sanskrit term 'dashah' (दाशःह). It means a person whose labour has been paid for. In English such a person is known as a slave.

Slavery in India came as a result of a war between the Aryans and the non-Aryans. When Aryans invaded non-Aryans, they not only defeated them but also captured them and made them slaves. In Vedic literature, non-Aryans have been termed as 'Dasyus' (दस्यु) or 'Asuras' (असुर)

Slaves in ancient India or Vedic times were generally non-Aryans. Later on, they took form of Sudras or untouchables. For slaves in ancient Indian Polity, the terms 'Asur' (असुर) Aavritta, (आवृत्त) etc have been used.

In India slavery grew as a result of a war between Aryan and non-Aryans.

Development of the institution of slavery in India—India the institution of slavery grew through different ages. In Vedic times, there were slaves, no doubt. but they were not very large in number. Not only men but also women were made slaves. Normally, all the persons who were captured in the war were made slaves, without any distinction of sex. The victor had full control over these salves. He could sell them, mortgage them, given them away as a gift or release them.

Slavery during Brahmanic Age—After Vedic period, the number of the slaves grew very large. In several Brahman works, there is description of the kings giving away thousand of slaves as gifts or. donations. There is narration of such a story in Aitreya Brahmana.

Slavery during Upanisad Age—During this period, the term 'slave' or 'das' had also assumed allegoric character. A person who was very much under debt was sometimes termed as slave. In Vridaranayak Upanisad, there is a description to the effect that Janaka, after having received education from Yajvalakya, offered himself and his entire subjects as slaves.

Slavery on the basis of Sutra literature—There is description of the system of slavery in Griha Sutra ahd Dharma Sutra as well. In Sutra literature, a distinction has been made between servant (भृत्य) and slave (दास)

Slavery according to Epic literature—There is description of the system of slavery in the Ramayan and Mahabharat Epics.

Slavery according to Smritis—In Smritis, there is a detailed description about different problems of the slaves and the slavery system. It means that in those days the slavery had assumed a pretty well developed form. In Manu Smriti, which symbolizes the full-fledged development of the Hindu social order, there is a detailed description about different aspects of slavery. In Narad Smriti and Katyayan Smriti also there is description of all these things.

Slavery according to the narration of the foreign travellers—Foreign travellers like Hueintsang and Megasthenese there is not much of description about the slavery system. Sometimes on the basis of this narration it is thought that there was no such system in India. But the fact is that there was such a system. If the foreign travellers had failed to understand it properly, the fault does not lie with the existence of this system. Kautilya, in his Arthasastra, has given a detailed description about the slavery, the slaves, the treatment to be given to them and such other things.

If the foreign travellers had not been able to give a detailed description of the slavery in India, it is on account of that fact that there was a vast difference in the treatment that was meted out to the slaves in European and African countries and in India. As compared to Europe, the treatment that was meted out to the slaves was very respectable, humane and kind.

Slavery during Buddhist period--In Buddhist literature as well as in Jatak stories, there is description about the slavery and the slaves. In some of the Jatak stories, there is description about people selling themselves, on account of famine or on account of economic difficulties.

The system of slavery was not to be found only in North. It was to be found in South as well. The Devadasi system, that flourished very much in the temples of South, was, in fact, nothing but a form of slavery.

Slavery during Medieval period—During medieval period of the Indian history, the slavery that was to be found in ancient India, changed its form. It now assumed the form that was to be found in the countries ruled by Muslim rulers. Muslims rulers made all those persons slaves, whom they defeated and captured. In doing so, they did not distinguish on the basis of religion.

Slavery during modern period—Modern period is the age of progress, equality and humanity. It was during nineteenth century that this system saw its end even in the countries where it was in its worst form. In India it had, more or less, ceased after the middle ages and so there was no question of its being there in the modern age.

Types of slaves or kinds of slavery—On the basis of different works of ancient Indian Polity or Hindu Polity, we find that there were slaves of different types. There was, no doubt, variety in this system in the foreign countries as well, but in India generally the slaves were of the following two types :—

(*a*) War slaves.

(*b*) Agricultural slaves.

(*a*) **War slaves**—Those persons who were captured in war were made slaves for ever. They were deputed for different jobs.

(*b*) **Agricultural Slaves**—All those persons who surrendered their rights on account of economic difficulties were treated as agricultural slaves.

Kinds of slaves according to Arthashastra—Kautilya, in his Arthasastra, has enumerated a long list of the slaves. According to Kautilya, there were following types of slaves :—

1. **Dhwajahrit or Vanquished**—Those persons who were defeated in the war or surrendered or captured were made slaves and placed in this category. Writers of Hindu Polity have given them the top place among the slaves.

2. **Atmavikray in or Slave Sellers**—Those persons who sold themselves on account of famine or some other economic difficulty were placed in this category.

3. **Udar Dass or Born of Slave**—If a child was born of a slave woman, he or she was also treated as a slave. In other words, it means that a slave always begot a slave.

4. **Ahitik**—If a person did not have any well wisher or surrendered himself to some one else, he was treated as a slave of this category.

5. **Dandapraniti (or condemned to punishment)**—In ancient India, there was a provision in the jurisprudence that if a person committed a crime, he was handed over to the person against whom the crime was committed, for taking revenge. In other words, in ancient India, there was the revenge theory of punishment. A person who has handed over to be penalised was also treated as a slave and known as Dandapraniti slave.

Kinds of slaves according to Manu Smriti—Manu Smriti, we all known, is a monumental work of Hindu social order. In it there is a detailed description about different aspects of life. In this book, the slaves have been categorised under seven heads :—

1. Those who were captured or surrendered in war.
2. Those slaves who sold themselves for quinching their hunger.
3. Those slaves who were born out of a slave woman.
4. Those slaves who were purchased for a price.
5. Those slaves who were given away as a gift.
6. Those slaves who were accepted as slaves by rich people.
7. Those slaves who were given away to be punished for having committed some offence.

Types of slaves according to Narad Smriti—The variety, kinds and types of slaves went on increasing with the passage of time. In Narad Smriti, there is description of 15 types of slaves, some of them are as follows :—

1. People born in a slave family,
2. Achieved or Labdhra.
3. Inherited.
4. Saved in famine.
5. Committed to the master.
6. Given away as repayment of loan.
7. **Prisoner of war**—This included the soldiers as well as the civilians.
8. Those who sold themselves.
9. Those who fell in love with a slave woman.
10. Those who became slaves for the sake of food, etc.

In some of the books of Dharma Shastra as well as Hindu Polity, even the adopted sons who had not undergone the ceremonies of sacred thread or Upanayan were treated as slaves.

Restrictions on slavery—With the passage of time, certain restrictions were imposed on making people slaves. Those persons belonging to higher castes could not be made slaves. In other words, Kshatriyas could not enslave Brahmanas while Vaishyas could not enslave Kshatriyas and so on and so forth.

Behaviour towards slaves—Slaves in Western countries were treated in a very cruel manner. Brested has said that this cruel treatment some time lead to revolt by the slaves, which jeopardised the peaceful life of the citizens. On the basis of the work 'A Guide to the Department of Greek-Roman Antiquities', we come to the conclusion that the name of the masters was tatooed on the body of the slaves. There was also the tradition of making these slaves with a red iron.

Treated like Chattels—It is a known fact that the slaves were treated like chattles. They could be sold, given away as gifts or mortgaged. In fact, the master had the sole authority over the slaves. They were also given away as repayment of loan.

Cruel treatment—From the records about the history of the olden times, we come to the conclusion that the slaves were meted out of a very cruel treatment. They had no independence and were subjected to several inhuman behaviour.

Difference between behaviour meted out to the slaves in India and in the Western and African countries—There was a difference in the behaviour towards the slaves in India as compared to behaviour towards them in Western countries and other countries of Africa. In India the slaves, both men and women, were not subjected to such an inhuman treatment as their counterparts in Western and African countries like Egypt, Sumeria, Babilonia, America, etc. This is also evident from the narration of the foreign travellers, who visited India in the ancient period. Some of them were so much surprised at this behaviour that they did not distinguish slaves from ordinary citizens.

Behaviour towards the slaves according to Vedic literature—On the basis of the Vedic literature, we come to the conclusion that slaves were given away as gifts to the temples. Slaves were ths symbols of gratefulness or thankfulness. They were given quite good behaviour.

Provide proper food—It has been provided for in Dharma Sutras that the slaves should not be left unfed. Even if the food was exhausted on account of sudden visit of some guests, it was binding on the part of the master to provide food to the slaves and not allow them to go to bed without having taken their food.

Could not be condemned to death—In European, American and African countries, instances were quite frequent of killing of the slaves. But it was not allowed in India. It was binding on the masters to treat the slaves like sons. No doubt, the slaves were the inferior class of citizens, but they were also human-beings.

Instances of cruel behaviour not lacking—There were also masters who meted out a cruel behaviour to the slaves. Description of such behaviour is found in Jatakas. Masters beat the slaves and also subjected them to other types of inhuman treatment.

From the inscriptions of the Ashok, we find some description about the behaviour towards the slaves. In these inscriptions, it has been laid down that the slaves should be treated in a liberal and generous manner. In short, it may be said that the slaves in India were treated quite sympathetically and in a generous manner. They were not subjected to those inhuman cruelties what their counterparts suffered in American and African countries.

Functions and duties of the slaves—In India slaves were not treated very differently from the servants. They, therefore, enjoyed certain rights and obligations. They were expected to carry out the following jobs :—

1. Do the jobs connected with agriculture.
2. Do other jobs involving physical labour.
3. Attend to the conveniences of the guests.
4. Keeping the house and the other properties of the master clean
5. Attending to the other needs of the master.
6. Giving other physical comforts to the master, etc.

Status and rights—The status of slaves in India was again quite different from the status of the slaves in African and American countries. In Western as well as in African countries, the slaves had neither physical freedom nor economic freedom. But it was not so in India.

Physically dependent—The salves physically were dependent on their masters. They had no physical freedom, but they had some economic status.

Economic status of the slaves in India—Slaves in India had some economic status. It has been provided for in Arthasastra and other works that slaves could acquire their own property and such a property could not be taken away by the master after the death of the slave, if any relative or dependent of the deceased was alive.

Slave women—Slave women had to discharge all the functions that slave men had to discharge. They, of course, had certain other functions to discharge, but they also enjoyed better status in certain respects.

In India as well as in Western countries independent men were free to marry slave women and in such a case a slave woman could be freed on payment of a price.

As son who was born of a slave woman but a free man was not treated as a slave.

It has also been laid down in books of Hindu Polity that if a master developed illicit intimacy with a slave woman and a son was born to her, it was the duty of the master to free her.

Emancipation and liberation—In this regard also, books on Hindu Polity present a different picture as compared to the books of other parts of the world. In no part of the world there was provision for the liberation or emancipation of the slaves. In Indian books of Polity we find that there was a clear cut procedure for liberation of the slaves. In Kautilya's Arthasastra, it has been laid down that the slaves could be liberated on the following grounds :—

1. If the amount for which they were purchased was paid back.
2. If a person captured in the war paid back full or half of the price through his labour or in any other form, he could also be liberated.
3. A woman slave could be liberated if she gave birth to a child as a result of illicit relation with the master.

Narad and Yajvalakya have laid down that if the slave has saved the master from some serious trouble, the master must liberate him. There were other ways also of liberation and emancipation of the slaves.

There was a procedure for the liberation of the slaves. A ceremony was observed. This ceremony had a social sanction behind it. After this ceremony, the slave became a free man.

In short, it may be said that there was slavery in ancient India, but the books on ancient Hindu Polity or Indian Polity have laid down better rules for treatment of the slaves

CONCLUSIONS

1. The books of ancient Indian history do speak that there was a system of slavery in ancient India. It started after the annexation of the Indian territory by the Aryans.
2. Mostly non-Aryans, who were defeated in the war, were made slaves.
3. Slaves in ancient India were treated in a far better manner as compared to the slaves in Western and African countries.
4. There were different types of slaves in ancient India. They included men as well as women.

5. Apart from those persons captured in the war, those persons who sold themselves for a particular price or surrendered their rights in different ways were also called as slaves.

6. In India slaves were given a better treatment as compared to slaves in Western and African countries. They could not be killed in India while such a thing could happen with them in other countries.

It was binding on the masters in India not to allow the slaves to go to bed without feeding them.

7. Normally, the slaves discharged the following functions :—

(*a*) Looking after agricultural work.

(*b*) Providing service to the masters.

(*c*) Keeping their houses and other properties clean.

(*d*) Attending to the guests of the master.

(*e*) Providing other comfort to the masters.

8. Physically slaves were completely under the control of the masters, but they could acquire certain economic rights. They were no doubt treated as chattels. But they had some status as well.

9. In ancient Indian Polity, there is provision for liberation and emancipation of the slaves. This provision was quite different from the behaviour that was meted out to the slaves in other countries. In no country of the world there was provision for liberation of the slaves.'

10. After liberation, the slaves became independent citizens.

11. In India there was slavery no doubt, but this slavery was better in certain respects, as compared to the slavery in other countries.

CHAPTER XLII

COMMUNITY LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Write a short essay on 'community life in ancient India' ?

Or

Q. Describe briefly the community life, as it existed in ancient India, on the basis of the books on Hindu Polity ?

Ans. Community life—Community life is an important aspect of social life. Today we find greater importance being attached to the community life, but it was also there in ancient India. Several social as well as religious institutions, described in the books of Hindu Polity, throw light on this aspect of social life.

Normally, there are two aspects of the life of a society :—

1. Individual life ; and

2. Community life.

When a single individual as a single member of the society does a thing, it is described as an *individual action*. On the other hand, when more than one member of the society do a thing together, it is said to be a community action or a *collective action*.

Tradition of the community life in India—The tradition of the community or collective life in India is prettey old. We find description of all this even in the Vedio literature. In the Vedic literature, it has been laid down as a prayer that *all should get peace and happiness*.'*

In India, the basic concept of life was guided by community feeling. The idea of self or ego did not flourish so much in ancient India. It is, in fact, a gift of the Western civilization and materialistic concept of life.

Community feeling in different aspects of life—Community feeling or feeling of collectivism pervaded all walks of life in ancient India. It was to be found in political, religious, social as well as economic aspects of life. Let us now talk about each of them a bit in detail.

Community feeling in political life—In ancient India, there was a good deal of community life in the field of politics. Village administration was carried out in a manner which involved the co-operation of the entire community. There were village councils or village panchayats.

In ancient India, there were also republics and federations of republics. In these republics, representatives of the people cooperated with each other. There was co-operation of the representatives of the people not only in republics, but also in the monarchies. Even in Vedic times, there were representatives of the people who helped the kings to carry out the administration. Kings were also elected by these representatives.

'*Paura*' and *Janpad*' gave ample representation to the public representatives. These institutions gave a good deal of importance to the community life in the field of administration and politics.

There is description of '*Vrijji*' (वृजिज) federation in the books of ancient Indian Polity. It consisted of 30 republics. These republics fought together and also entered into treaty with other countries in a collective manner. In other words, they carried out the administration in a collective manner. It was nothing but a form of community feeling in the field of politics.

Importance of community feeling in economic life—In ancient India, the community feeling was given due importance in the economic life of ths nation as well as the individual. There were several organisation of the workers as well as business men that, on the one hand, looked after these aspects of life and, on the other, they also controlled the activities of the members of these organisations. In *Yujvalakya Smriti* and *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, a good deal of importance has been given to the organisations of the businessmen as well as the working people.

Community feeling in economic life—Having seen the importance of community feeling in the economic life of the country, we now come to the actual play of the community-feeling in the economic life of the society in ancient India, the organisations of the workers that were known as Shrenis and the organisations of the business class or guilds, which were known as '*Nigams*' or '*Poogas*', were given an important place in the economic life of the society. They controlled the production by these classes of working men.

Functions of the Shrenis or organisations of the working men—Normally, the organisation of the workers of artisans carried out the following functions:—

1. Making arrangement for vocational and technical training and educations.

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*सर्वे भवन्ति सुखिनां सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्ति मा कश्चिद् दुखद् भवेत ॥

2. Carrying out banking activities.

3. Solving the problems pertaining to the particular field of work with which they were connected.

Community life in the field of agriculture—In ancient India, community feeling was to be found not only in the field of the business or other activities involving commerce and industries, but also in the field of agriculture. Co-operative farming was to be seen in ancient India as early as the time of Alexander's invasion. Greek historians, who came to India, found that co-operative farming was being practised in the valley of Indus river. In such farming, the farmers worked together and distributed the produce according to labour. Those who did not work did not get anything. It also brings to forefront importance of hard labour in the field of community life.

Commerce and community feeling—Community feeling or collectivism was to be found not only in the field of business activities, but also in other walks of commercial life. Rich men sometimes joined hands and carried out business jointly. They held shares in different business. Instances are not lacking when business men went out of the country in large numbers, and that too together, for carrying out trade with foreign countries. There is a story that about 500 business men went to Ceylon to carry out trade with that country. They elected a leader of theirs and worked under his directions.

Community feeling and the local self-government—Local self-government in ancient India was carried out on the principles of co-operation, collectivism and community feeling. Institutions of local self-government in towns as well as in villages were run on the basis of these principles. The panchayats of different communities, that are found in India even today, are remnants of the old community life, or community feeling, that was to be found in the villages. History of the Mauryan period eventually depicts the city government of Pataliputra, which was the capital of the Mauryans. This administration was very much guided by the community feeling. In fact, the city government of Pataliputra was run by the representatives of different organisations of citizens. What was true of Pataliputra was true of other city governments.

Community feeling in the field of education—Community life was to be seen in its most developed and best form in the field of education. In ancient India there were Gurukuls or seats of hearning. These gurukuls imparted education of different stanards. Institutions like Taxila and Nalanda were run totally on the basis of the community life. In the educational institutions of ancient India students of all classes and communities lived together. Even princes had to live with ordinary persons. No distinction or discrimination was allowed, either on the basis of economic status or social status. In these gurukuls, the students worked together, went out for alms together, coocked food collectively and also did other jobs for the teachers in a collective manner.

Combined study and collective learning was very much in vogue. Collective discussions and contests, as well as discourses were very much practised.

The organisations of the gurukuls were very much based on community life. The Vice-Chancellor or the Kulapati was the head of the entire group of the teachers and students. He, in fact, led the whole of the community that lived in the villages.

Social life and community feeling—Social life in ancient India was very much guided by the community feeling. In ancient India, there was the joint family system in which all the members of the family lived together, worked together and tried to share the burden together.

In books of ancient Indian Polity, there is description of Kula Rajyas. In such states, families and kulas mattered most. It again brings to forefront the importance of the community feeling in the social life. In ancient India, there were several such traditions, that throw ample light on the importance of community feeling in social life. In ancient India, at the time of the marriages and other social activities as well as festivals, people invited all the members of their community. This was done in order to bring the whole community together.

There was also the tradition of giving punishment to a person who was found guilty of doing something that was harmful for the society. Such a tradition again throws light on the importance of the community feeling in social life.

Religious life and community feeling—In ancient India, religious functions were performed collectively by the members of the community Yajyas and kratoos are examples of such activities. In these activities all the members of the society, both men and women, took part collectively.

There was a tradition of collective meditation not only in the Vedic times but also in the Buddhist age. Samghas of the Buddhists and their mathas and other sects of Jains are clear-cut examples of the importance of community feeling in the religious life.

In ancient India, religious discourses and religious contests were organised. On such occasions all the members of the community took part in an active manner. On religious occasions, all the members of the community were also invited.

Pilgrimage and going for darshan of different important places are again examples of collectivism in religious life. People went for pilgrimages and to sects of religious importance not individually but collectively. Since the people going to these places were guided by one performance—spiritual emancipation and enlightenment—they were very much guided by community feeling or ideal of comunity life.

Decline of community life—Community life in India continued to be in its best form not only in the Vedic period but also in the Buddhist period. Buddhist literature as well as Jatakas give a detailed description of community life in that period. This community life saw its decline in the medieval age of the Indian history. With the advent of the medieval age, foreign invaders captured power in India. They were guided by different ideals and so they did not encourage the institutions of community life in India. It went on declining even during the British regime.

Rejuvenation of the community life—With the freedom of India, several institutions of past saw their rehabilitation and rejuvenation. Community life was one such institution. In fact, for development, progress and planning, community life is a must. The community project is a clear-cut realisation of this fact. If it is executed properly, once again, the community feeling shall pervade all the aspects of Indian life.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Community life is named for the work that is done collectively by all the members of the society. The work that is done by individual members for their individual jobs is called individual work, while the work that is done by the members of the society collectively, is called a community job or collective job.

2. Community life in India was to be seen in the Vedic times. It was to be found even in the Buddhist period.

3. The community life or community feeling in India declined with the medieval period

4. In ancient India community feeling was to be found in the field of politics as well as administration. Representatives of people were involved in administration. In the field of economics, *i. e.*, trade, commerce, etc., community feeling or community life occupied an important place.

5. There were organisations of the working men as well as business men that, on the one hand, solved the problems connected with these works and; on the other, helped in the administration and development of the society.

6. In the field of agriculture also, community life was given an important place. Co-operative farming was carried out as early as the time of the invasion of Alexander.

7. Members of the business community also organised themselves into guilds and helped the organisation of the production and also helped in the increase of national wealth.

8. Local self-government in ancient India was also carried out on the basis of the principles of community life.

9. In the field of education, community life saw its most developed form. Educational institutions functioned like a community and education there was also important in the same manner.

10. In the field of social life also, community feeling assumed the form of the joint family system and invited people on different social occasions and ceremonies.

11. In the field of religion, community life took form of yajyas and kratoos in which all the members of the society participated.

12. The practice of going for pilgrimage and to places of religious significance again speaks of the community life in the field of religion.

13. Although the community life saw its decline during the medieval period, with the advent of freedom, attempt is being made to rejuvenate and rehabilitate it. If it is done, it shall be a fine day for India.

CHAPTER XLIII

ORGANISATIONS OF THE BUSINESS MEN AND THE THE WORKING MEN IN ANCIENT INDIA

Or

GUILDS AND TRADE UNIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Q. Write a short essay on the organisations of working men or artisans and the business men in ancient India ?

Or

Q. 'Guilds of business men and the unions of the working class played an important part in the sociopolitical life of ancient India'. Discuss this statement ?

Ans. Organisations of the business men and the working class—Todas we find that the business men and the working class have organised themselvey into different groups and associations They have done so in order to protect their interests and also to play their role effectively in the re-construction of the society. It is not a new feature. It was to be found even in ancient India. Even *in the Vedic period,* there were such organisations.

Organisations of the working men and the business community in the Vedic and Brahmanic Ages—There were very well organised associations of the artisans and the business men in the Vedic and Brahmanic ages. The organisations of the working men or the artisans were called '*Shreni*' and those of the business men '*Samooh*', '*Nigam*' or '*Pooga*'.

The organisations of the working men helped the production and the organisation of the production of the goods with which their members were connected. They were also helpful in the organisation and administration of the society. It can be seen in Vrahadaranaka Upanisad.

Organisation of the working men and the business community in the Epic age—In Ramayan and Mahabharat period, there is also description of the organisations of artisans and business men. In *Ramayan,* there is description to the effect that when Rama came back to Ayodhya, after finishing his period of Banvas, Shreni Mukhya or the heads of the organisation of the working men were also present to welcome and reveive him. In the Shantiparva of Mahabharat, there is also description of these Shreni Mukhyas or the heads of the organisation of the working class.

There is reference to these organisations at another place in *Mahabharat* where the sources from which the king should derive his power and authority have been enumerated. There it has been laid down that the king should draw his authority from Shrenis or Shrenibal. This indicates that in those days these organisations played a vital role in the organisation of the society as well as administration of the state. It is said that they kept army and also helped the administration in maintaining law and order.

Organisations of the working class in the Buddhist period—On the basis of the Buddhist literature and the Jatakas, we find that there were organisations of the working class or artisans even in the Buddhist period. In those days the heads of the shrenis or the organisations of the working class were given due respect. In '*Urag Jatak*', there is description of dispute between a *head of a 'shreni'* or '*shreni pramukh*' and two state ministers. *Dr. Fick*, the famous Buddhist historian, has given detailed description of the organisations of the working class in Buddhist period. In those days, these organisations had the following qualities :—

1. **Hereditary or traditional organisations**—By this time, different vocations had become hereditary and traditional. After the death of the father, the son took to the profession of his father. So was the case with the organisations of the shrenis. In the directions of the Buddhist religious literature, there is description to the effect that people took to their hereditary vocations and occupations.

2. **People of one particular vocation or occupation lived at a particular place**—By this time working people had acquired the tendency of living at a particular place. It means that people doing one particular job lived at one place. For example, those who did the work of ivory lived in a particular lane or at a particular place. So was the case with other vocations also. In *Kulinchit Jatak*, there is a description of a village near Varanasi mentioned as '*Vaddhkigam*' in which :00 families of the carpenters lived. Similarly, there were villages of potters and other artisans.

3. **Head of the organisations of the working men enjoyed a respectable place in society**—There was a scientific organisation of these associations. The heads of these organisations were called '*Pramukh*' or '*Jatthak*'. They had rules and regulations according to which the number of working men under each of such organisations was prescribed. Normally, one thousand families of working men lived in a village under them. There was an officer of the rank of the minister in the government, who dealt with these associations or organisations and also tried to bring about a co-ordination in their working This officer was known as '*Bhandagarik*'.

Number of Shrenis or organisations of the working men—In Buddhist literature, there is description of different associations of the working men. It is presumed that there were about 18 such organisations, each dealing with people of one particular vocation or trade. Vocations and their organisations were as follows :—

1. Carpenters.
2. Leather workers or cobblers.
3. Gardeners.
4. Dentists.
5. Painters.
6. Chariot drivers, etc.

Control over the members—These Shrenis exercised a good deal of control over their members. Normally, they discharged the following functions :—

1. Looked after the professional activities and made efforts to get them more opportunities.

2. Solved the disputes between different members of the organisations or Shrenis.

3. Solved the personal problems of the members, such as their family troubles or disputes between different members of the family or disputes between husband and wife.

Organisations of the working men as described in Sanskrit literature—There is a detailed description of these organisations in books of Sanskrit literature. In Smritis and books of Arthasastra also, there is a detailed description about the organisations of these associations, their duties and privileges.

These associations had the authority to frame rules and regulations and these rules and regulations were accepted by the government.

Organisations of the artisans according to Kautilya—In Kautilya's Arthasastra, there is a detailed description of the organisation, duties, obligations and other things pertaining to these associations.

Kautilya has laid down that the government should appoint officers and the ministers to deal with these shrenis or the organisations of the workin men. It has also been laid down there that the government should try to solve the problems of the shrenis and their members. It has also been laid down that these persons should be provided special and separate place of residence.

Arthasastra and the organisation of the business men—In Arthasastra, there is also a detailed description of the organisations of the business men or the business class. These organisations have been termed as '*Sarth Samavya*'. The members of these organisations were called '*Samavyâvaharik*'.

Importance of the Shrenis in public life—At the time of Kautilya during Mauryan period, these associations of the working men occupied an important place in public life. They were given political recognition. Since they had large membership, they were also capable of revolting against the state administration. Kautilya has, therefore, laid down that the heads of these shrenis should be given due importance.

Duties of the Shrenis according to Manu Smriti—In Manu Smriti, there is a detailed description of the duties and obligations of these '*Shrenis*', There it has been laid down that the king should try to grant recognition to the rules and regulations framed by these Shrenis.

Status of Shrenis according to Yajvalakya's Smriti—In *Yajvalakya Smriti* also, there is description of the privileges and the authority of these shrenis. There it has been laid down that the rules and regulations of these shrenis should be and given the status of a contract. So is the case with *Vishnu Smriti* and other Smritis. The person who tried to pilfer the property of the hand, it was binding on the parts of the office-bearers to hand over whatever they received as a reward for doing the job of the shrenis. It has also been laid down in these Smritis that the state or the king should keep the secrets of these organisations and also help them as and when required. On the other hand, the office-bearers of these shrenis have been advised to be pure in character and do things in an honest manner.

Office-bearers of the Shrenis—Office-bearers of the shrenis who were known as '*Karchintakas*' were appointed after careful consideration. Only those persons who possessed a high moral character and integrity could be appointed to these posts. If these people suffered from greed or other weaknesses, they could not be appointed to these posts. They had free hand in carrying out their duties.

Authority and power of the Office-bearers of these organisations—These office-bearers carried out the following functions :—

1. Looked after the administration of the organisations.
2. Framed the rules and regulations about them.
3. Penalised those who tried to interfere with the working of these organisations and flouted the rules and regulations of these organisations.

Control over the office-bearers or the assembly—The office-bearers of the shrenis were responsible to an assembly, which consisted of the members of the shreni and its meetings were held after due publicity.

Other functions of the Shrenis—These organisations or associations of working men discharged certain other functions as well. They secured loan from the government and certain other gifts and deposited them into the treasury of the shreni. They also did certain other jobs of public good. They undertook activities like putting up of buildings, temples, establishment of parks, public water places, etc.

Organisations of the business men or business class—Like the organisations of the working men, there were also the organisations of the business class or the business community. These organisations, on the one hand, looked after the interests of the members and, on the other, helped the development of the business. As already stated, these organisations were known as 'Samooh', 'Nigam' or 'Pooga'.

Organisations of the business men in different ages—These organisations of the business men existed in different ages of the ancient Indian history. They were there during the Vedic times, the Buddhist times and also during the later period. During all this period, they carried out their activities with the help of the state administration.

Status—These organisations received recognition from the state and were also held in high esteem. The members of these organisations were called as 'Samvayavaharik. There is description of the organisation of these associations in different Smritis, such as Narad Smriti, Yajvalakya Smriti, etc,

Organisations of the business class according to Kautilya's Arthasastra—*Kautilya's Arthasastra*, which is said to be the most important work on Hindu Polity of the ancient India, has given a detailed description about the organisation of the business class. On the one hand, it has given their description and, on the other, it has also laid down the obligations of the state towards these organisations

Role of the associations of the business class in political life and administration—The business community played a vital role in the political life of ancient India. The organisations of the business community were given representation administration. Local self-government was very much under the influence of these organisations. In some of the towns, the city government was run by these people.

Economic organisations as described in different material of archaeology and ancient Indian history—From the different materials that serve as sources of history, we find some information about the economic organisations in ancient India. These organisations were of business community and of working class.

From the different inscriptions, we find that there were organisations of the business community as well as the working class. From this point of view, the inscription of *Ushavadat*, son-in-law of the Shak ruler-*Nahpan*, is very important.

Similarly, in Nasik, there is an inscription in a cave in which it has been written that *Ishwarsen* (third century B. C.) gave some money to different organisations of the working classes.

As a result of the excavation of *Vaishali*, several seals were unearthed. These seals were used for affixing them on different papers. These seals belonged to different organisations of the working men as well as the business class.

All these things go to prove that there was a well organised net-work of the organisations of the business community as well as working men in ancient India.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In ancient India, there were organisations of different economic classes as well.

2. There were organisations of the working class as well as the business community.

3. The organisations of the working men were known as Shrenis, while those of the business community were known as Samooh, Nigam or Pooga.

4. The organisations of the working men existed even in the Vedic times and the Brahmanic times.

5. These organisations were there even in the Buddhist period. By that time, they had assumed certain special features, such as :—

   (*a*) Vocations had become hereditary.

   (*b*) People doing one vocation lived at one particular place

   (*c*) The heads of these organisations enjoyed the political as well as social status etc.

6. There is description of the organisations of the working class in Sanskrit literature, Smritis, Dharma Sutras etc.

7. Kautilya's Arthasastra has given a detailed description of the organisations, their duties towards society and the obligations of the state towards them.

8. At the time of Kautilya, these organisations occupied an important place in public life.

9. The officers or the office-bearers of these associations were appointed after careful consideration of their moral integrity and competence.

10. In ancient India, there were organisations of the business class as well.

11. In Kautilya's Arthasastra, there is a detailed description of the organisation of these associations, their obligations and role in society.

12. These organisations, on the one hand, looked after the interests of their members and, on the other, helped the state administration.

13. In some field of administration. specially local self-government the organisations of the business community had a vital role to play.

14. On the basis of the inscriptions and other sources of ancient Indian history, we find that there was a pretty well organised net work of the organisations of the business community and the working class in ancient India.

CHAPTER XLIV

KAMANDAKAM

Q. Describe briefly the political and social philosophy of Kamandakam, his views about the state and organs of the states.

Or

Q. Write a short note on the political and social philosophy of Kamandakam ?

Ans. Kamandakam—the hisorical retrospect—*'Kamandakam'* has made a valuable contribution to the political and social philosophy of ancient India. There is a controversy about his time. Some of the authors place him in the eighth century while others think that he belonged to 300-500 B. C. He has made a mention of the earlier writers of Hindu Polity, such as Manu, Bhishma, Kautilya, etc. He has not been given importance as an independent writer of Hindu Polity or as a social and political philosophers, because he borrowed a lot from his predecessors. Some of the authors have gone to the extent of saying that he has only tried to present in a concise form the views of Kautilya. The following lines throw sufficient light about his place in the history :—

> "Kamandaka cannot be put in the eighth century as done by Jolly and Winternitz. His general style indicates Gupta times. The known data of Bhavabhuti helps us further. Bhavabhuti as ably shown by M. M. Ganapati Sastri knew his work ; not only he knew Kamandaka but his audience also must have known his work as a well-established authority to be able to follow and enjoy the character "Kamandaki" like the "Buddharakshita" and "Avalokita". Kamandaka must have published his work a few centuries before Bhavabhuti (first half of the eighth century). Its earlier limit probably is the Tantrakhyayika which does

> not know it. The interval between the A. S., and Kamandaka is large, for not only several subjects and topics in the A. S., have become in Kamandaka's time antiquated enough to be left out, a new group of authorities unknown to the A. S., had intervened.
>
> There is a revival of the tradition of Chandragupta Maurya in Gupta times. Royal parents name their sons after him. Visakhadatta compares him with Vishnu in his play written under one of the Chandraguptas of Gupta dynasty. Chandragupta laws in the Kautilya are closely reproduced in the Narad Smriti. Chandragupta's Arthasastra is verified and adapted in the Kamandakiya Nitisara. There is an ambition, partly realized, of founding a large empire from Pataliputra like that of Chandragupta Maurya. Kalidasa, a Gupta poet, says that the country becomes Rajanvali, 'possessed of a just king', only on account of the Magadhan emperor. The opening verse of the Kamandakiya suggests the reign of Chandragupta II".*

Kamandaka Niti—Kamandaka's book on Hindu Polity is popularly known as 'Kamandaka Niti'. It deals with different aspects of the science of administration. It became popular from about fifth century He has tried to review *Kautilya's Arthasastra* and the principles contained therein according to the new socio-political requirements He has, therefore, given up some of the principles prominently enunciated by Kautilya, while gave out new things. For example, Kautilya has said that secrecy should be observed while creating a new mantra. Kamandaka has gone ahead in this regard and laid down several other things about it. He has stated that the discussions between different ministers should be kept secret and the decisions should not be made public before the due date and time.

Kamandaka has quoted from Gita and said that the general public is not very conscious and considerate. It knows only to do its job. He has, therefore, further stated that even if there is a difference of opinion between different ministers, it should not be made public. This is likely to bewilder the general masses and the result may be hazardous.

Enunciation of the principle or publication of a decision—Kamandaka has laid down that a decision should be made public only when all its aspects have been considered. Kamandaka has further suggested that a decision should be arrived at only after taking into consideration the preceding as well as likely succeeding events. He has further laid down that a decision should be arrived at on the basis of the following considerations :—

1. It should be carried out by a majority vote.
2. Normally, all important persons should be a party to such a decision.
3. Decision should be taken by the cabinet or the council of ministers.

Before Kamandaka, these principles were not accepted in political, social and public life. In those days stress was laid only on the method. Then it was said that if a decision was arrived at by the majority, it should be good for the people and also helpful to them. It should also be free from emotions, such as anger, greed, passion, etc., because the decisions taken under the influence of excitement are not likely to be very helpful.

Kamandaka and Kautilya—Kamandaka Niti Shastra is very much influenced by Kautilya. It is said that Kautilya exercised a good deal of influence over his successors and Kamandaka was the example of such an influence. The following lines throw ample light on this aspect :—

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* 'Hindu Polity'—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal,

> "The great fascination which Kautilya had over his successors is well illustrated by Kamandakiya Nitisara, composed probably in the Gupta age. This book is nothing a metrical summary of the work of Kautilya. Obviously its anonymous writer felt that the best service he could render to the students of politics would be to summarise this standard work in the popular Anushtub metre, so that it could be easily memorised by the student. The work, however, does not at all describe the administrative machinery. The king and his courtiers dominate the picture, showing the great importance that monarchy had acquired by this time. Kautilya's chapter on republican states is comitted, probably because they were no longer in existence. Civil, criminal and personal law are completely left out, probably because the Smriti writers of this period had specialsed in this branch. Jayaswal attributed the work to Sikharaysvamin, a minister of Chandragupta II ; his arguments however are not convincing. Vishakhadatta and Dandin do not refer to the work but Vamana knows it. Its time may be somewhat between 500 and 700 A D."*

Division of the knowledge according to Kamandaka—Kamandaka has also divided the knowledge. This division is based on the philosophy of his predecessors like Kautilya. According to Kamandaka, the knowledge may be divided on the following bases :—

1. 'Anvikishas' or sell-knowledge—This included the following :—

(*a*) 'Sankhya' or figure.
(*b*) 'Yoga'.
(*c*) 'Lokayat'.

2. Yati—The knowledge was also to be divided on the basis of Yati or the knowledge that helped an individual to distinguish between what was right and what was wrong. It included the following :

(*a*) Rig.
(*b*) Yaj.
(*c*) Sama.
(*d*) Atharva.
(*e*) History.
(*f*) Puranas, etc.

In other words, it included the entire Vedic literature Puranas and Brahmanic literature.

'Vedangas' or organs of the Vedic literature—Kamandaka has also divided the Vedic knowledge or Vedic literature into different parts and organs. These parts and organs have helped the understanding of the knowledge. According to Kamandaka, 'Vedangas' were to consist of the following :—

(*a*) Shiksha or education.
(*b*) Kalpa.
(*c*) Vyakarana or grammar.
(*d*) Nirukta.

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* State and Government in Ancient India'—Dr. A. S. Altekar.

(*e*) Indra.

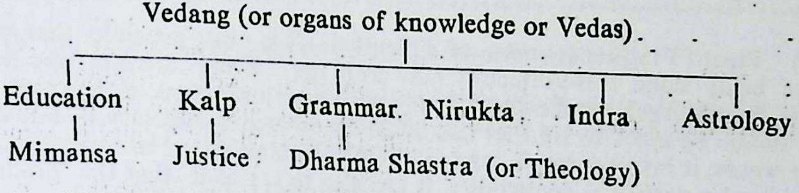
(*f*) Jyotish or Astrology.

(*g*) Mimansa.

(*h*) Nyaya.

(*i*) Dharma Shastra.

It may be presented more clearly with the help of the following chart :—


Vedang (or organs of knowledge or Vedas)
Education
Kalp
Grammar
Nirukta
Indra
Astrology
Mimansa
Justice
Dharma Shastra (or Theology)

3. **Varta (or vocational training)**—This branch of knowledge included the training, education and knowledge about animal husbandry, agriculture, trade, commerce, etc.

4. **Danda Niti (or Polity)**—It included knowledge about different aspects of Penology, Criminology, etc.

Organs of the state—Kamandaka has laid down the following as the organs of the state :

(*a*) 'Swamin' or the king.

(*b*) 'Amatyas' or the ministers.

(*c*) 'Pura' or the capital or land.

(*d*) 'Rashtra' or notion or sovereignty.

(*e*) 'Kosha' or treasury.

(*f*) 'Danda' or force or power to punish.

(*g*) 'Suhrid' or friends and allies.

Organs of mantras or decisions—Kamandaka has used the ferm 'Mantra' not in the sense of some religious decision but to denote the political decisions. In this regard, he has laid down that the mantra or the decisions should be taken by the majority and it should conform to the norms, ideals and the principles laid down by different works of religion and polity.

Organs of Mantras—Kamandaka has laid down the following as the organs of mantras or the political decisions :—

(*a*) **'Sahayak' or helpful activities**—Under this organ, he has enumerated all such acts and functions that are likely to bring more co-operation and assistance in future.

(*b*) **'Sadhan' or means**—Kamandaka has also given a list of the means, through which different types of helps or assistance may be secured. He has laid down that after careful study of different means, they should be adopted in order to bring assistance and help in arriving at decisions and getting them executed.

(*c*) **'Upaya' or ways**—Kamandaka has laid down that in order to achieve an end or object, ways or the means have also to be chosen. These ways or instruments may be violent as well as non-violent. He has, therefore, suggested that only those ways that may have a permanent effect should be chosen.

(*d*) **Desh kall-vibhag (time and place)**—The factors of time and place are very important in arriving at a decision and getting it executed. If a particular state decides to attack another state, it cannot do so during the rainy season and, while doing so, it has also to take into account the physical conditions of the other country as well as its own. It, therefore, means that the time and place should always be taken into account in arriving at a decision and getting it executed.

(*e*) **Vipatti Pratikar (removal of difficulty)**—It is quite possible that while a work is being done, some difficulty may crop up. Every attempt should be made to see that such a difficulty does not crop up and even if it crops up, attempt should be made to see that this difficulty or such a difficulty is removed. In other words, it involves careful and imaginative planning. For example, if a state produces a particular commodity, it has also to see to it that the produced commodity gets a proper market.

In short, Kamandaka has also laid down a political philosophy that can be quite practical and helpful.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Kamandaka is another important political philosopher and social thinker.

2. Kamandaka was very much influenced by Kautilya and his Arthasastra.

3. Although Kamandaka was very much influenced by Kautilya and his Arthasastra, yet he tried to show his originality by leaving out the things that were not very much in demand and taking up the things that could be helpful.

4. The most important contribution of Kamandaka in the field of Hindu Polity is the time factor in regard to making the decisions public. He has laid down that decisions should not be made public, unless the time is ripe.

5. Kamandaka has also divided knowledge and given out its different organs.

6. Similarly, Kamandaka has given out a division of the mantras as well as the organs of the state.

7. Kamandaka has laid stress on the ways and means that shall be helpful and permanent in the achievement of the objectives.

CHAPTER XLV

ADMINISTRATION IN VEDIC AGE

Q. Give a brief account of administration in Vedic age.

The Vedic age can be divided in two periods—(1) Rigvedic period and (2) Latervedic period. Here we are giving a short account of the Administrative set-up in Rigvedic and Latervedic periods

ADMINISTRATION SET IN RIGVEDIC PERIOD

Kingship—As a general rule, monarchial system of Government was prevalent. Kingship was usually hereditary but references are found which denote that at times when need arose people could select a king from the members of royal family. King or 'Rajana' wielded vast powers and occupied an eminent position among people.

The duties of the king were to realise taxes, administer justice, protect the people against enemies and work for the welfare of the subject. Though his powers were great yet there were certain binding on him.

Checks upon the power of king—The institutions or persons who served as a check upon the autocracy of the king may be studied under following heads :—

System of selecting king—As already referred that when situation demanded kings could also be selected by the people from amongst the royal family. As people had this right, kings always tried to keep the people satisfied by working for their welfare. This indirectly served as a check upon his powers.

Rights of Purohita—Purohita was an important person and wielded great powers which served as a check upon the powers of the king. He was the chief adviser and spiritual guru of king. As remarked by A. B. Keith, "The Vedica Purohita was the forerunner of the Brahman statesmen who from time to time in India have shown conspicuous ability in the management of affairs and there is no reason to doubt that a Vishwamitra or a Vasistha was a most important element of the Government of the early Vedic realm."

Council of Ministers—Ministers were appointed who advised a king on different matters. Panditamatya or Law Minister, Sumantra or Finance Minister, Mantrin or Home Minister, Pradhan or President of the Council, Sachiva or Minister of War, Amatya or Minister of Revenue and Agriculture. Pradviwaka or Minister for Justice and Chief Justice and Pratinidhi or Representative are said to be Chief Ministers. This list was to include two more Ministers, namely :—(1) Purohit or Minister of Religion. Invariably he used to be the royal chaplain. (2) Doota or Minister of Diplomacy. The Representative had precedent over the council and the mantris. He probably represented the people in the cabinet and impressed upon the king the priority to be given to different business in the affairs of the republic.

Public Institutions—As remarked by Basham, "The raja was not the absolute monarch for the Government of the tribe was in part the responsibility of the tribunal council, the sabha and the samiti."

Sabha (Council)—The meeting of the sabha took place in the Assembly Hall and it transacted political and non-political business. There is mention of persons of great wealth and of noble both attending it and hence it was probably a Council of Elders or Nobles. It is described as the sister of samiti which are referred to as the daughter of Prajapati.

Samiti (Assembly)—According to Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee, "The Samiti was probably the larger assembly of the people in general." It was considered the duty of the king to attend its meetings, According to Prof. Jaiswal, one of the main works of samiti was to select king. As remarked by Dr. Majumdar, "The raja, though the lord of the people did not govern without their consent. The business of the tribe was carried out in a popular assembly styled 'Samiti' at which princes and people were alike present."

In ancient India, specially in the Vedic period there was an element of election in the kingship. Although he ruled the whole of the country, yet he was guided by the institutions of Samiti and Sabha. These two institutions enjoyed a very high position in the Vedic period as is evident from the following lines :

"Sabha and Samiti enjoyed a high prestige in the Vedic daughter of Prajapati," the Creator. This suggests that the people regarded both the assemblies almost as divine institutions of hoary antiquity and are most coeval with the political life of the community if not with the community itself."

Religious Checks—This king was bound to act according to the religion and this had further limited his powers.

Thus, we see that though the king occupied an eminent place yet he was not an absolute monarch. The above mentioned checks upon his powers served as a means to compel him to work for the welfare and advancement of people.

Justice—King was the highest authority so far as justice was concerned. As the system of intelligence was very effective, the cases of crimes were few. Dr. R K. Mookerjee observes that "the judicial system was advanced beyond the primitive system of eye for eye and tooth for tooth." Death sentence was given for serious crimes and for ordinary crimes, imprisonment and fines were improved.

ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP IN LATER VEDIC PERIOD

Kingship—Monarchy became the prevailing system of Government in the later Vedic period. The post of king became hereditary Mostly there were monarchies but the mention of republics at some places is also found. Usually, the eldest son was entitled to get the throne. Some scholars are of the view that election system of kingship was also found. Though the powers of the kings had increased to a great extent yet he had not become an absolute autocrat. There were certain checks upon him. In the first place the king could also be elected and the references of expulsion, re-election and restoration to the throne are found in Atharvaveda. Secondly, before being enthroned the king had to take the oath of loyalty to the constitution law and there is also the mention of taking approval or 'Anumati' of the earth. Thirdly, there were certain minister and officials to advise the king on different matters. Lastly, Sabha and Samiti also served as a check upon his autocracy. Moreover, certain customs put a check upon him, *e. g.*, he had to bow before the Brahman by getting down his throne.

Imperialism—In the later Vedic period big empires had taken place of the small kingdoms. The mention of the words such as Samrat, Ekrat, Virat, Adhiraj and Rajadhiraj indicates the growing imperialism in this period. Attareya Brahman defines Ekrat as the sole of the territory to the seas and according to Atharvaveda, Ekrat was the sole paramount sovereign. Moreover, the ceremonies such as Vajapeya, Rajsuya or the Ashvamedha also indicate this. The contemporary texts give us information about big empires and great kings. Among Kurus, king Parischit was a very brave, mighty and just ruler. He had built up a big empire. His son, Janammaijay was also a great conqueror. Likewise the mention of king Janak of Videha who also built up a big empire, is found in Satpath and Vrihattar Upnishad. The aim of the kings of this period was to be eminent and supreme over all kings.

Sabha in the Later Vedic period—In the Later Vedic period, almost all the institutions of the Vedic period changed. This happened with Sabha as well.

According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, Sabha was a village assembly. This is what he has said in this regard it would thus appear that the Sabha was primarily the village social club, but the few items of the simple village of the age were also transacted there by its members, when it was necessary to dispose of them. These probably included steps for the annual safety and decisions in the matters of the village disputes. It was not only a social gathering. It had political status as well. The members of the Sabha enjoyed high status and representation. The following lines corroborate this point further—"A passage in the Atharaveda describes how the Sabhasads (members of the sabha) of God Yama were royal in status and entitled to share the sixteenth part of the merit accruing to that deity. It is possible to argue that the status of the members of the terrestrial Sabha, like that of celestial one, was also almost as high as that of the king and that they too were entitled to receive a small share of the titles and tributes that were paid to the rulers. It it, however, not impossible that the sabha referred to improve the cabinet or ministry of the earthly king also; and the description of a member of the Sabha as a person possessing considerable wealth (consisting of the king of course) and going to the sabha in his full paraphernali, riding on a charger or seated in a carriage would confirm that hypothesis. The balance of available evidence, however, tends to show that sabha was usually the village assembly, meeting for social as well as political purpose."

Samiti—It has been described as the sovereign assembly that represented the will of the people. It was the national assembly of the whole people. It had the right to elect or re-elect the king. The whole of the people were supposed to be present in the assembly.

Constitution of the Samiti—Although in the Samiti it was expected that the whole of the people shall be present, it did not, however, mean that for the Samiti the presence of all the residents of the village or the assembly was essential. Gramani was the leader of the village and key-stone of the village constitution. He presided over the meetings of the Samiti. Its constitution has has been nicely described in the following lines :—

> "It is clear, as observed above, that the whole people were considered to be present in the Samiti. But when, for instance, Svetaketu goes to the Samiti of the padchashalas where philosophers and statesmen were sitting, it would be hardly probable that the whole nation, without any

principle of representation, would be actually present. We already find in the Vedic period the principle of representation appreciated and variously acted upon."

Functions of the Samiti—On the basis of different references, the functions of the Samiti may be described as below. Without any doubt, the samiti exercised a lot of influence over the administration :

1. Samiti selected the Rajana or the king. It implied that it could re-elect a king or dethrone him. In this sense, it was the sovereign body.

2. It carried out deliberations about different functions of the state.

King and the Samiti—Kings used to attend the meetings of the samiti. In fact, it was the duty of the king to attend the samiti. At the time of the coronation, the king had to present himself before the samiti. In short, it may be said that the king could not disregard the wishes of the samiti.

Deliberation and discussions—In those samitis, there was freedom of speech and people could express their point of view freely. However, when the decisions were reached, they had to be followed faithfully.

President of the Samiti—There was the President of the samiti. He was called Samiti Samitipati or Samiti Isana. It was the who conducted the deliberations of the samiti.

Samiti—an institution of the developed society—Samiti was an institution of the developed Vedic age. The very fact that deliberations were carried out in the samiti indicates that by that time the society had developed a lot.

Non-political business of the Samiti—In Samiti certain items, other than political, were also discussed, philosophic deliberations were also carried out in the meetings of these samitis. There are several anecdotes in Upanisads that testify this point. It was also a national academy.

Minister and officials—In the later Vedic period, the number of ministers and officials had greatly increased. The officials were called Ratnins. According to Taittiriya texts there were following Ratnins with whose help and co-operation the king ruled. They are :—(1) Brahmana (the Purohita), (2) Rajanya (noble), (3) Mahishi (chief queen), (4) Vavata (favourite wife), (5) Parivrikti (descended wife), (6) Suta (charoteer), (7) Senani (commander of the army), (8) Gramani (village headman), (9) Kshattri (chamberlain), (10) Samgrahtri (treasurer), (11) Bhagdugha (collector of taxes), (12) Akshavepa (superintendent of dicing). The Satapath Brahman describes gonikartana (huntsman), palagala (courtier) etc. The mention of carpenter, chariot maker etc., is also found in the books. Shatpati was an official who controlled hundred villages. Thus it was necessary for the king to procure the help and co-operation of these officials for the king to procure the help and co-operation of these officials for the smooth functioning of his administration.

Judicial system—This had also undergone several changes. Kings has started taking more active part in the administration of justice. The murder of a Brahman was considered a heineous crime. Moreover, treason was also a very serious crime and the sentence of death was given for it. Special cases were decided by the king with the help of Sabha. Brahmans occupied special status so far as administration of justice was concerned. Civil cases were disposed of by the 'Panchas'.

Income of the State—The system of realisation of taxes from the people was not regular in Rigvedic period but now it had become definite and regular. Bhagdugha or the Collector of taxes was there to realise taxes. According to Atharvaveda, the realisation of taxes which was 1/16th of the income was made in the form of animals and grains.

Conclusion—We have discussed above only the chief officials and institution in the administraive set-up of Vedic age. Beside, the above officials and institutions there were certain other officials and institutions which helped a lot to make the Vedic administrative machinery a success.

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